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# News from behind the IRON CURTAIN

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## SPECIAL FEATURE

Election Masquerade — Pages 41-50

### Political

Scapegoats and Tools—Page 1 . . . Targets of Abuse—Page 5 . . . The Future Guardians of Communism—Page 9 . . . Party Planning—Page 12.

### Economic

Accent on the East—Page 18 . . . The Fall Harvest—Page 23 . . . The Labor Problem—Page 28 . . . Albanian Five Year Plan—Page 30.

### Cultural

Education for the New Order—Page 32 . . . The Mechanics of Satellite Education—Page 34 . . . Catholic Trials in Bulgaria—Page 38.

**News Briefs**—Pages 51-56 . . . Kossuth Smiles . . . Candid Avowal . . . Roses Are Blue . . . No Aid for Travellers . . . Captive Audience . . . Must Mothers Be Sharpshooters? . . . Committee Out of Bounds . . . Printer's Error . . . Red Cross Controversy.

## About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

## About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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# The State Militant

## I. SCAPEGOATS AND TOOLS

THE watchful Communist State sees its citizens as instruments of Party policy. Since total obedience is required of all, anyone failing to fulfill State production quotas is subject to prosecution as an enemy of Socialist construction. If government policy is at fault, the Satellite citizen is also liable to punishment, for the State's claim to infallibility makes necessary numerous scapegoats. Two new trials of "saboteurs" and "espionage agents" in Romania and Poland show also that the source of many ills is attributed to American warmongering and imperialism. The exposure of enemies "inspired by a capitalist power" is used to rally internal support and to intimidate recalcitrants. It is a technique used to whitewash a system whose main obstacle to success allegedly is opposition created from without.

Reprisals, however, affect not only those who have "wilfully acted according to bourgeois ideology," but also those who, because of old age or physical incapacity, are unable to contribute to the country's development. Pensioners as well as "political unreliaables" are deported from cities to make room for essential factory workers, and are then put to work in the countryside or in slave labor camps. Recent deportations, and new trials of engineers, kulaks, and saboteurs in Iron Curtain Europe prove that the citizen of a Communist country is a tool for achieving maximum efficiency and a sacrifice in the explication of Stalinist doctrine.

### Trial of Romanian Technicians

In Romania, a show trial of ten "saboteurs" holding important posts in the Danube-Black Sea Canal Works was staged between August 29 and September 1 before a Bucharest military court which sat at the Canal site of Poarta Alba. The defendants, all engineers or technicians, were accused of diversionist activities, menacing peace, and hin-

dering the country's development, particularly by ruining Soviet machinery. Five of them were sentenced to death, and the rest to prison terms ranging from twenty-five years to life. According to exile circles, work on the Canal has been far behind schedule since 1950, and it has become evident that the much-advertised Soviet methods and machinery are not bringing the anticipated results. Excerpts from the charges against the defendants published in *Scanteia* (Bucharest), August 30, illustrate Communist efforts to find scapegoats for technical failures:

"... To slander the reputation of Soviet equipment, the dirty servants of British and American capitalists replaced original parts with used parts to cause repeated failures which would reflect badly on Soviet technique. ... [The accused also] wilfully destroyed equipment ... and kept machines out of operation, leaving them in the open to deteriorate. ... Parts were removed and repairs executed superficially. ... [In addition, the accused] tried to create dissatisfaction among workers by undermining construction financing and the general wage fund. They tried to sabotage government measures for the proper supply of food to workers. At canal farms, for instance, many carloads of potatoes ... spoiled and had to be thrown away. ... Houses for workers were planned and constructed far from their job sites. ..."

Blame for sabotage was placed mainly on Anglo-American espionage:

"The accused spread slander about the Romanian People's Republic. ... They supported the war psychosis spread by American imperialists ... and were encouraged in their criminal activities by orders of their imperialist masters. ... The [defendants] were in direct contact with American and British espionage agents who left their fingerprints alongside those of the saboteur group in their hostile actions."

The defendants all "confessed" to their crimes. From the descriptions of their backgrounds in *Scanteia* (Bucharest), August 30, exile researchers have concluded that the ac-

cused were recruited from all groups under attack by the regime. The defendants were listed as: a former landowner who served the Fascists and exploited the peasants, a former factory owner, a former Army officer who had fought against the Soviet Union, a kulak who was sentenced for subversive activities in 1948, a former member of the Goga-Cuza Party who committed anti-Semitic crimes, a former member of the National Peasant Party, an active Zionist who was a former shareholder, and three former members of the Fascist Iron Guard Party, one of whom recently joined the National Liberal Party.

### **"They Ruined Soviet Machinery"**

In commenting on the trial, an emigre journalist has pointed out that during the recent purges of Pauker, Georgescu and Luca, the regime also tried to explain away failures in Canal work. Luca, specifically, was accused of sabotaging work by withholding necessary appropriations. "Apparently one scapegoat was insufficient, or perhaps Soviet pressure for completion of work increased and the Party found it necessary to apply disciplinary measures at closer range, since the pillorying of a remote Minister of Finance had not helped improve conditions."

"The principal aim of the trial was to prove that Soviet machinery was in no way the cause of any delay in the Canal's progress. Consequently, each defendant confessed to 'improper use of Soviet machinery.' One of the accused certainly overstepped himself when he admitted that to ruin machinery he replaced good parts with defective parts. The question arises: Where did he find these defective pieces? Soviet machinery allegedly doesn't chew up any of its parts!

"Another purpose of the trial was to blame failures on American imperialism and warmongering. One of the defendants who had studied forestry in a US university admitted that he was in contact with American spies in the US Military Mission in Romania. He was made to state: 'My education in America and my experiences taught me that money cannot be earned by work but only by hook or crook. That was our religion.'

"It is to be presumed that the 'Law of Similar Offenses' was the basis for the extremely harsh sentences handed down by the Court, since there is no evidence that death is the legal punishment for activities of which the defendants were accused. The death penalty for economic sabotage, however, is implied by the slave labor system.

"Although the trial is the most important one to be staged at this time by Bucharest Communists, it sheds no light on the all-important question of a trial for Luca, Georgescu and Pauker. Links were often made between the defendants and a group of deviationists but nothing was added to the sum of accusations against this trio. Apparently, Moscow has not yet given the go ahead sign and a more politically favorable moment will be awaited—if this moment ever comes."

### **Voice of America Accused of "Inspiring" Murder**

In Poland, eight persons, two of them women, were sentenced by the Warsaw Military Court on September

21 for the murder of Stefan Martyka, formerly a commentator on the Communist radio program "Wave 49." Martyka's job was to denounce enemies of the regime, and he was allegedly killed at the instigation of the Voice of America for exposing the lies broadcast by the Western radio. Although the crime occurred in Warsaw on September 9, 1951, the trial did not take place until a year later. Elections to the Polish Parliament will be held on October 26 and exiles state that the trial, which lasted three days, was probably made to coincide with other anti-West propaganda launched during the campaign period. The man charged with planning the murder was Zenon Sobota, known for the past few years as Tomashevski. Sobota was killed in a fight with the People's Militia when they tried to arrest him several months ago. He and the rest of the group were accused not only of homicide but also of burglary and espionage. The Court sentenced five Poles to death, two to life imprisonment and one defendant to fifteen years in jail. In describing the proceedings, Radio Warsaw, September 19, said:

"Yesterday's trial revealed . . . the real aim of the diversionist gang. . . . Hatred for People's Poland and the changes which have taken place . . . [made] them common enemies of peace and mankind. They were inspired in their criminal activity . . . by the Voice of America and its agents, who put guns into the hands of the murderers . . . that same Voice of America which spews hatred at our nation. . . . The contents of these broadcasts . . . was the spiritual food which nourished the murderers of the man [Martyka] who . . . branded American propaganda as hostile to the Polish nation. . . ."

The defendants were accused of working as espionage agents for the American Embassy in Warsaw. They supposedly sent a memorandum to the Embassy containing a report of their "subversive" activities, which included robbery and attacks against the police. They were also accused of asking the Embassy for arms, ammunition and radio equipment. Commenting on the treachery of the group, the Radio Warsaw commentator said: "As proved by this case and others, murderers who collaborated with the Gestapo during the war have now made American imperialism their new master." Both the defendants and Martyka were members of the wartime Polish Underground. Since Martyka later went over to the Communists, exiles say that their relationship may have provided motives for the crime.

### **"Confessions"**

The general tenor of the trial can be seen from the following excerpt broadcast over Radio Warsaw:

"Prosecutor: What was in the memorandum [sent to the American Embassy]?"

"Defendant: The memo was concerned with problems. It was to be sent to the Chief of Staff of NATO through the courtesy of the American Ambassador in Warsaw.

"Prosecutor: Did it describe the organizations and give information on methods used to contact the Embassy?"



Were any requisitions made?

"Defendant: There was a description of the organization and its methods of making contacts with the Embassy. Requests were made for arms, explosives and radio transmitters.

"Commentator: First a spiritual loan from the Voice of America, then a murder, a robbery and regular reports sent to the US Embassy.

"Prosecutor: What was your motive in joining the band?

"Defendant: (Long pause) I was simply affected by false propaganda.

"Prosecutor: Did you listen to radio programs from abroad?

"Defendant: (Rapidly) I did. Voice of America and BBC."

The defendants "admitted" the various ways in which they supplied the Embassy with information. According to the official commentary, one of the accused, Maria Karska, "a frog-eyed, gray-haired woman," translated reports into English and hid the bandits' pistols and money:

"Maria Karska, ex-estate-owner, wife of a 'Sanacja' officer, was employed by the Polish National Bank. She gathered information for the band and sought contacts with the American Embassy. Her function was . . . to hide material secured by the gang. She [also] collected vital information on exports and imports."

Other members of the group were condemned in similar fashion. In summing up the trial, Radio Warsaw, on September 20, once again denounced the American Embassy and US imperialists:

"The witnesses themselves reported on their manifold evil activities. . . Murders, attacks, espionage, all for a foreign power. . . Their actions . . . cynical, rapacious and servile . . . only prove that the group on trial completely lacked a program of its own. . . Not one of the bandits said or could have said what kind of Poland he desires. Nor did any one of them say what he specifically disliked in Poland. They dislike everything. They like only that which is favored by America: war, bombs . . . and American occupation of Poland. . . They had organized as criminal tools . . . of the Voice of America and the BBC . . . to carry out everything the Anglo-Saxon radio stations . . . more or less distinctly . . . dictated for the destruction of Polish property."

It should be mentioned that Radio Free Europe was also condemned in connection with the trial.

### The Kulak and the Nobleman

Throughout the Satellite area, so-called kulaks are being arrested and fined for sabotage, diversionist activities, failure to meet State deliveries and refusal to pay taxes. The great number of these prosecutions makes impossible a complete record. The Romanian Communist press publishes almost daily accounts of *chiaburs* sentenced for one or an-

other of these crimes. In Bulgaria, numerous "wealthy peasants" have been accused of delivering contaminated grain to the State. In Hungary, the campaign is in full swing, and all during August, the Czechoslovak newspapers denounced "the enemy activities" of individual small-holders.

One of the more interesting cases was recorded on August 29 by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), which described kulak hatred for the State and ridiculed the "village rich" for wanting to become affiliated with former members of the aristocracy. According to the newspaper, kulak Josef Mladek's wife wished to marry her daughter to a nobleman. Mladek was passing through a forest one day when he met a stranger who introduced himself as a foreign agent. After exchanging comments on the unbearable conditions in Czechoslovakia, Mladek allegedly invited the stranger, who called himself Ivan Novotny, to his home. When he became acquainted with the family, Novotny confessed to Mrs. Mladek that his estate near Zamberk had been confiscated by the Communists and that his real name was Baron Ivan Barin. The kulak and his family offered to help Barin in his subversive work. *Rude Pravo* describes the denouement as follows:

"The rest was simple. The Baron promised to marry Ann, the daughter. What a shock it was to the family when the 'Baron' was indicted along with them before the State Court in Hlinsko. The family was forced to hear that the 'Baron' was neither a Baron nor Ivan Novotny, nor even an agent. He was a Jaroslav Slavik, a deserter with a record of eight convictions who, by pretending to be a foreign agent, enjoyed the hospitality of kulaks. . . [The fact that he was not an agent] does not minimize the family's guilt . . . for they supported Slavik, thinking that they were helping a foreign agent. Mladek and his wife realized that their daughter could only become a 'baroness' and co-owner of an estate . . . if the capitalist regime were reinstated. . . Taking this into consideration, the court passed the following verdict: ten years' imprisonment for Jaroslav Slavik, four years' imprisonment for Josef Mladek, two years for his wife and one and a half years for the daughter. . . After this trial, Skuticko farmers established a uniform agricultural co-operative."

Exile researchers have suggested that Slavik was an agent of the Czechoslovak Secret Police and that although convicted, will never be forced to serve his sentence.

### "Sabotage by the Village Rich"

Earlier in the month, other trials of "kulaks" were announced in the Czechoslovak press. On August 12, *Rude Pravo* (Prague) reported that a Moravian farmer had been sentenced to eleven years in prison, a fine of 100,000 *koruny* (\$2,000) and partial confiscation of his property for sabotage. He was also banned from his home district of Trebic for life and deprived of civic rights for ten years. The same issue of *Rude Pravo* reported a trial of four Slovak kulaks accused of hindering the development of the cooperative system. Two of the defendants were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and the other two to seven years. All four

lost their civic rights, and were fined and banned from their home district of Senec for life:

"They infiltrated the uniform agricultural cooperative of Senec in 1949-50 in order to disrupt the cooperative. By spreading false reports, they tried to make cooperative members lose faith in our People's Democracy. . . . They dissuaded them from transforming to a higher type cooperative and prevailed on other small and middle farmers not to join the cooperative."

On August 14, *Pravda* (Bratislava) announced that two other Slovak farmers from the Malacky district near the Austrian border had been prosecuted for damaging cooperatives and maintaining contacts with "emigre traitors." On August 20, *Pravda* reported that kulak Valentin Varga from Sid in central Moravia had been "unmasked." And on September 2, *Rude Pravo*, announcing the "exposure" of another kulak who failed to deliver his quotas, commented threateningly: "Instead of meeting his obligations . . . he followed the orders of the hostile foreign radio. The Korean people are successfully exterminating American vermin. We, too, know how to treat all saboteurs who intend to hinder Socialist construction."

This list of prosecutions is by no means complete. In a long article urging Party members not to cease fighting the "village rich" for an instant, *Rude Pravo*, September 2, said that kulak activities were widespread and included arson, damaging machinery, delivering infected grain, sabotaging deliveries and arousing popular sympathy by feigning poverty. Claiming that administrative measures alone were insufficient, the newspaper declared: "Wherever there is evidence of sabotage by kulaks, Communists will immediately and mercilessly report them, bring them to court, and treat them as saboteurs and enemies."

On August 24, the Polish newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) noted the fines levied against peasants for evading imposed grain collections:

"Small and middle farmers who meet their obligations, are demanding . . . the punishment of kulaks who prevent the village from fulfilling its obligations to the State. For instance, the local National Councils punished 53 kulaks in Krasnystaw District this month for sabotaging . . . State deliveries. . . . The National Council of Suchowola . . . sent to the public prosecutor the case of Jan Boron and his neighbor Jakob Struzik. Boron, the commune's head, . . . purposely brought to the collection center at Adamow 2.5 quintals of last year's rye which was spoiled. . . ."

#### "Profiteers" Arrested

In addition to the numerous trials of kulaks in Hungary (See September issue, p. 3) the regime has also recently taken action against a number of people who, fearing shortages and rationing of consumer goods, tried to stock up on scarce items. Reporting that many "profiteers" had been caught and penalized, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), September 3, wrote:

"Last weekend, department stores and State stores sold an unprecedented quantity of goods. The stores were

crowded with people who had heard from 'reliable sources' that on Sunday all prices would be raised and that rationing on several items would be introduced. . . . Some of these people bought bicycles lacking some essential part, despite the fact that they were discouraged from doing so by the manager. Those who spread these false rumors hoped to create confusion on the market and discontent among the people. Profiteers accumulated large stocks. However, many of them were prevented by the courts from indulging in this activity for many years to come. This enemy ruse resulted only in empty wallets for those who were misguided. . . . At the same time, this incident should be a warning to workers to guard against the destructive and subversive activities of our enemies."

#### Deportations

Numerous reports from Czechoslovak refugees describe the recent deportations of Bratislava and Prague residents. According to an exiled lawyer, the main purpose of these deportations is to make available cheap living quarters for politically reliable factory workers. One letter received from Vienna states that there are three main categories of deportees. Pensioners comprise the first group and are moved to the countryside for practical rather than political reasons. Old people are considered burdens to Socialist economy and their liquidation is being hastened. Pensioners are permitted to choose the site of their new homes and to take all their belongings with them.

The second group of deportees are so-called political unrelies. They are permitted to take with them an unlimited amount of clothing but very little furniture. Some of them are allowed to choose where they will live, but the majority are assigned places in the districts of Trnava, Hlohovec, Galanta, Nove Zamky, Malacky, Komarno, Nitra or Skalica.

Those in the third category are reportedly former high-ranking non-Communist officials and political and economic functionaries. These people are allowed only 100 pounds of luggage and are always directed to their new residences where they are given menial work.

Notice of deportation is sent to the victims about two to four weeks in advance. Deportees are given receipts for furniture left in their apartments and new tenants must pay the official evaluation of the furniture in installments to special accounts set up for the deportees.

A letter describing the fear of deportation and general conditions in Prague was recently smuggled out of Czechoslovakia by a former diplomat's wife. She writes:

"I am terribly worried about the fate of our son. Because of his background, he cannot get work as an apprentice and will not be accepted in any school. At 16, he is working in heavy industry, and is underfed, tired and frequently ill. We fear that he will get tuberculosis, which has spread terribly among young people. Now we are constantly apprehensive, for deportations are going on all the time. We know that deportation will mean the end for us. . . . Everyone is starving, and we try to exchange whatever property we still have for food. We

all dread the winter—no coal, electricity cut off, shortages of almost everything. Most of all, we dread the thought of being sent away by the police."

The Yugoslav Radio recently announced new deportations in Hungary and Romania. On August 28, the Belgrade commentator said that 1,000 Romanians had been deported from Constanza to Bicz in the beginning of August, and that 400 people in Ploesti and 240 in Bucharest had been arrested. A day later, Radio Belgrade broadcast that 500 persons had been deported from the large Hungarian city of Miskolc.

## II. TARGETS OF ABUSE

In recent weeks, Satellite propagandists have devoted much space to abusing the American presidential candidates and the US electoral system. Both Stevenson and Eisenhower are the object of continual ridicule and are described as warmongering politicians in the pay of warmongering capitalists. By a barrage of invectives, the Communist press has tried to show that the US two party system is a mere formality and a sop for the American masses, who are oppressed by a united group of monopolists and prevented from exercising their franchise to vote.

Numerous other anti-West editorials charge that the Americans are using Korean prisoners for cruel scientific experiments and forcing them to choose between death and espionage. Condemnation of US policy in the Balkans and the Middle East also continues to be featured in the Satellite press. As usual, most anti-West attacks assert that people all over the world hate the US for planning a third world war. In this connection, Communist leaders make frequent reference to the solidarity of the Soviet-led peace camp and the growing strength of the Communist armies.

### Satanic Laughter

The Budapest comic weekly, *Ludas Matyi*, August 20, described a meeting between Stevenson and Eisenhower for the purpose of finding a point of disagreement. The dialogue below is intended to prove that both candidates, following Truman, plan to launch an aggressive war and exploit the American masses:

"Eisenhower: We have little time left before the elections. The Communist press . . . [says] that there is no difference between our programs. This is, of course, a deliberate lie.

"Stevenson: You are absolutely right.

"Eisenhower: I'm glad that we agree. That is, I'm not glad. The purpose of our meeting is to agree on what we will disagree on. In other words, we must draw up a platform containing the issues on which we are at odds.

"Stevenson: That's right. Damn it, I mean you're not right.

"Eisenhower: I'm glad to hear that you realize I'm

wrong. I can tell you this much—I will draft an entirely new foreign policy while following the Truman line.

"Stevenson: Excuse me, General, but that is exactly what I want to do. . . . I am prepared to go the limit in war preparations against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

"Eisenhower: I will go beyond the limit.

"Stevenson: My policy will be the policy of the iron fist.

"Eisenhower: Mine will be the policy of the steel fist. Bloodshed, death rattle, atom!

"Stevenson: Germs, plague, hell! Holocausts, mothers, infants! No mercy!

"Eisenhower: Mercy? (He laughs satanically) . . . By the way, what do you think of Hitler?

"Stevenson: He was a great man. (Jumping up) Heil Hitler!

"Eisenhower: (also jumping up) Heil Hitler!

(Both sit down crestfallen).

"Stevenson: Unfortunately, our foreign policies are the same. . . . General, we must make a sacrifice. Would you be willing to agitate against the atom bomb?

"Eisenhower: Have you gone mad, Governor? What would the atom manufacturers say? Why don't you give up germ warfare instead?

"Stevenson: Such a suggestion is not worthy of a gentleman. . . . Let's see what can be done in domestic affairs.

"Eisenhower: I will lower wages and raise taxes. I will put an end to strikes and imprison Communists.

"Stevenson: I will lynch Negroes. Hail the master race! Hail profit!

"Eisenhower: America belongs to the Americans. *Deutschland Uber Alles! Drang Nach Osten! Our Father Who Art in Heaven. . .*

"Stevenson: (completely crushed) General, we can't do it. I am completely exhausted.

"Eisenhower: Me too. Would you like some whiskey?

"Stevenson: Thanks, with lots of soda.

"Eisenhower: That's funny. I take lots of whiskey and little soda. Do you really insist on lots of soda?

"Stevenson: If possible.

"Eisenhower: Bravo. For the time being, let's agree that differences between us do exist.

"Stevenson: Insurmountable personal differences. I will report that to my bosses.

"Eisenhower: So will I. (They drink to each other's health.) Governor, you are a base, corrupt scoundrel.

"Stevenson: (After some consideration) General, drop dead!

"(They bow to one another)"

### "Bill Was Sulky . . ."

The Bucharest literary weekly, *Albina*, August 13, printed a supposedly humorous account of a reception given by General Eisenhower for his sponsors at the Republican Convention. The editorial tries to show, among other things, that the "gangsters" who supported Eisenhower previously put Truman into power:

"Besides bankers and businessmen who financed Eisenhower's 'nomination,' there were also a number of gangsters at the reception. Ike assigned the latter to a special



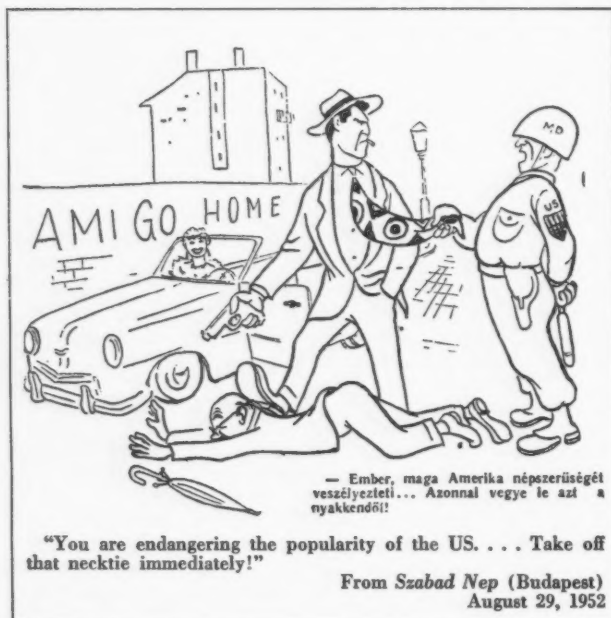
room in the basement so that they wouldn't disturb the chief sponsors who had a large reception hall at their disposal. Ike first went to the basement, where he reviewed his troops and made a speech. . . . Then he gave the bosses dollars, whiskey and other rewards. After this, drinks were served 'on the house.'

"'Long live Ike!' cried one of the criminals; 'when we nominated Truman he gave us only one bottle apiece.' . . .

"In a corner, gangster Jim, who supported Ike, was talking to his pal Bill, who supported Taft. Bill was sulky.

"Come on, Bill, drink and be merry. What does it matter if Taft hasn't been nominated? We have plenty to drink anyway. . . . And don't forget that it was far more difficult to nominate Ike than Truman. I suffered only two broken ribs when Truman was nominated, and now, besides two broken ribs, I have a broken arm and a wound in my head.'

"Well,' Bill answered, 'what is there to do in America if it is a tough job even to sponsor candidates for the Presidency?'"



On August 29, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) ridiculed Stevenson's assertion that West Europeans have confidence in the United States. Insisting that peoples all over the world hate the Americans, the newspaper wrote:

"Mr. Stevenson has really overshot the mark. All American newspapers bemoan the fact that Europeans hate the Americans and try to give advice [to Americans in Europe] such as: 'Do not dress in the American way. Do not wear loud ties.' This, of course, is absurd, but it is still one degree better than candidate Stevenson's crazy boast. He mistook the base gangs of Churchills, Morrisons, Pinays, De Gasperis and Adenauers for their

'proud nations.' The proud nations of Europe are united by one slogan: 'Americans go home!'"

On August 23, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) charged that US citizens were prevented from exercising their right to vote:

"While the American Constitution provides for general suffrage and secret balloting, the citizens of the US are actually prevented from exercising their right to vote by unprecedented terrorism. The various states have passed special laws . . . making the citizen's right to vote dependent on his financial status, the length of his residence in one locality and his knowledge of the English language and the Constitution. Because of these restrictions, only five percent of the population is admitted to the polls in certain states. . . . Of 15 million Negroes, only 100,000 may vote."

### "They Advocate War"

In another bitter commentary on the American presidential campaign, the Hungarian daily *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), August 17, declared that war is the program of both parties:

"Now that the lords of the monopolies have agreed among themselves on . . . the candidates for the November elections . . . the electoral campaign has entered a new stage. . . . The introductory speeches of the two candidates were unexpectedly embarrassing. They revealed all the lies and base methods of the so-called two-party system. Namely, it came to light that the programs of the two apparently squabbling parties are exactly the same. Both of them advocate aggressive war. Naturally this plan is presented by both parties garnished with well-known hypocritical peace slogans."

In a similar commentary, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), September 12, wrote:

"The US presidential campaign is in full swing. Ike Eisenhower . . . and Adlai Stevenson, both selected by American bankers and industrial tycoons, are touring the US and arranging meetings which closely resemble American circuses. By demagogic phrases and flattery, both candidates are trying to capture as many votes as possible for their Party delegates . . . who will then elect the President 'on behalf of the people.'

"American monopolist leaders are fully aware of the American people's increasing discontent with foreign and domestic policy. The speeches of both candidates are therefore full of wild promises . . . to the American electorate."

### Criminal Experiments

Satellite propagandists also continue to denounce "American atrocities" in Korean prison camps. A new note in these charges is that the Americans either use prisoners for scientific experiments or force them to become spies. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), August 26, wrote:

"American secret agents now in the hands of the Korean or Chinese People's Army described American atrocities and experiments on prisoners of war. One of these eye-witnesses is Tang-Chi-Min, a captured Chinese



volunteer, who was forced to become a secret agent for the Americans. One morning he was taken from camp in a truck . . . which stopped in a foggy, barren valley. At the foot of a nearby hill, some ten yards from a tent, was a row of newly dug graves. Another truck arrived soon after . . . with three rotting corpses of Chinese volunteers. Their stomachs had been slit down the middle and their . . . entrails removed. The Americans probably used them for secret experiments. In addition, there were cuts on either side of their chests and wounds extending from their nostrils to their cheekbones.

"Other American secret agents from the 72nd regiment described how the Americans forced prisoners to become spies. Those who refused were tortured or even killed. Go-Bao-Chun was one who refused. . . . Consequently, he was drowned."

A similar article appeared in the August 26 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest):

"Innumerable confessions [by escaped prisoners] make it clear that the Americans use war prisoners for criminal experiments. For instance, a Chinese prisoner, Tang-Chi-Min, who managed to escape, said that while transporting three Chinese corpses, he noticed that long cuts were visible on their abdomens and that other cuts appeared across their chests. Furthermore, their hearts, lungs and intestines had been removed. Undoubtedly, these were used for criminal experiments. 'In the hidden valley where we buried them', he said, 'we counted about 400 other graves.'"

### "Barbaric Bombings"

According to exiled researchers, the Communists in Czechoslovakia have recently reduced germ warfare charges and started a campaign against the "barbaric bombings of peaceful Korean towns." These attacks appeared throughout the late summer and early fall. On August 23, *Rude Pravo* published the following:

"On the night of August 17, American flying fortresses dropped hundreds of incendiary and napalm bombs on Nampo and Wonsan. They also savagely attacked the province of North Fenan. Hundreds of people, mostly women and children, were killed. . . . On August 20, thirty American flying fortresses bombed Anju. . . . Hundreds of napalm bombs were dropped. . . .

A day later, another denunciation appeared:

"On August 23, American bombers renewed attacks on villages near Fenjan, Taedong, Chung-hva and Kanse. Many houses were destroyed and thousands of rice paddies ruined. Hundreds of people, mostly women and children, were killed or injured. . . . Facts prove that this bombing of 78 North Korean towns . . . is aimed at exterminating the peaceful Korean people, frustrating peace negotiations and prolonging and spreading the war."

### "The Balkan Axis"

Another favorite theme of Satellite propagandists is the so-called Belgrade-Athens-Ankara Axis. In an editorial on August 28, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), condemned

"war preparations" in the Balkans:

"Fascist Tito's Yugoslavia has been assigned a particularly important role in this new military alliance. The recent and increasing attacks . . . against the People's Democracies are part of [imperialist] war preparations in the Balkans. . . . Leading circles in Washington, London and Paris probably think that by creating a Balkan Bloc they will eliminate all obstacles to the realization of their aggressive plans. They are very much mistaken. They forget to take two decisive factors into consideration: the stubborn resistance of the people under the imperialist yoke; and the excellent fighting spirit of the People's Democratic countries, and the invincible strength of the Soviet-led peace camp."

In a vehement denunciation on August 9, the Bulgarian *Narodna Armia* (Sofia), declared:

"Hatred for the Bulgarian people and their Socialist Motherland does not permit the Belgrade jackals, the Athens hyenas and the Ankara vultures to live in peace. Abominable Monarcho-Fascist provocations have exposed their predatory appetites and revealed their plan to invade Bulgarian territory and intensify tension along the border. Our people hate these enemies of peace and humanity. Every attempt of the Belgrade jackals, the Athens hyenas and Ankara vultures to disturb peace in the Balkans and to violate the freedom and independence of our Motherland will receive the deserved response of our Army, which enjoys the brotherly aid of the great Soviet Union and all the People's Democracies."

### "All Roads Lead to Communism"

On September 8, Radio Sofia broadcast a speech by the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Raiko Damianov, on the same subject:

"Fulfilling the orders of their imperialist masters, Tito's Fascist clique, the Greek Monarcho-Fascists and the Turkish reactionaries are operating along our borders. The imperialists have not abandoned their plan to regain power in the Balkans. For this reason, under Party leadership, our People's Army has been strengthened. Two camps, two systems, are clearly opposed—the imperialist camp, headed by American warmongers, and the camp of democracy and Socialism, headed by the invincible Soviet Union. Nothing can save the dying capitalist world. In our times, all roads lead to Communism. We shall continue to follow this road firmly and loyally, learning from the Soviet Union."

In an August 27 commentary, Radio Bucharest condemned the projected tri-partite alliance between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey as a threat to peace:

" . . . Although Titoite Yugoslavia has not yet signed an official agreement with Greece and Turkey, American diplomats and their lackeys have drawn up a detailed plan for unleashing aggression. . . . The British imperialists have also found it necessary to make their contribution. Therefore, the British Foreign Secretary announced that he will visit Yugoslavia and Austria in September to discuss . . . negotiations between Tito, Greece and

Turkey . . . [In the meantime] executioner Tito has sent a parliamentary delegation to Athens . . . to establish a basis for . . . collaboration between the two countries. But everybody knows the kind of collaboration this means. . . . When the Yugoslavs visited Greece, the people demonstrated against the vile partnership between the traitors Tito and Plastiras. . . ."

### The Middle East

US policy in the Middle East is another target of Communist abuse. Several excerpts from the Bulgarian press serve to illustrate the Communist interpretation of recent events. *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), August 13, commented on the coup d'etat in Egypt:

"It is well-known that American and British imperialists have tried for some time to get Egypt to join the Middle East Command. Because the largest party in Egypt . . . opposed these plans, the imperialists looked for a 'powerful man' to serve them. This resulted in a coup d'etat effected by General Naguib Pasha. According to the foreign press, the American Ambassador was the main instigator of this plot. General Naguib and his followers established close relations with the American Embassy. The latter was asked to inform the English Command in Egypt that the Egyptian Army will use arms if the British interfere. At the same time, the English Government ordered land and sea forces to be transferred from Cyprus and Malta . . . in order to 'protect' the interests of British citizens. There is no doubt that the Americans will try to force Naguib Pasha to include Egypt in US aggressive plans."

Analyzing recent events in Iran, the newspaper asserts that the Communist Tudeh Party represents the mass of Iranian people:

"Ghavam-es-Saltaneh, in collaboration with American imperialists declared a new government course [in July]. In practice, this meant the refusal to nationalize the Iranian oil industry and the enslavement of the country by the US.

"On July 21, a general strike was declared in Teheran. The working people participated en masse. They wanted to depose Saltaneh and to appoint Mossadegh Prime Minister. The army and police, controlled by American advisers, suppressed the workers. About 90 people were killed and 800 wounded in this clash. The Tudeh Party took an active part in organizing these demonstrations. . . . This party has consistently led the struggle against the imperialists and their Iranian servants. These events forced Ghavam-es-Saltaneh to resign on July 21. Under pressure from the people, the Shah entrusted Mossadegh, leader of the National Front, to constitute a new government. The Mossadegh Party represents the interests of the Iranian bourgeoisie.

"On July 23, Teheran students organized a meeting in honor of victims of this struggle. The resolution passed at the meeting demands that the Shah and the black Iranian reaction cease interfering in the country's affairs, that all American military and civilian advisers leave the country, that all secret and non-secret agreements be annulled, and that the initiators of mass murders be punished."

### They Have Surpassed Goebbels

Western radio broadcasts to Satellite Europe were the subject of two recent Polish attacks. On September 1, Franciszek Jozwiak-Witold, member of the Politburo, made a speech in honor of the 70th anniversary of the "Great Proletariat," a Socialist revolutionary organization formed during the Tsarist occupation. As quoted by *Trybuna Ludu*, September 2, Jozwiak-Witold said:

"The American mass murderers and poisoners have showed what they are capable of in Korea. They have surpassed their teachers, the Hitlerite murderers of Katyn and Oswiecim. . . . [Similarly] the deceitful, poisonous propaganda issued by 'Voice of America' and 'Free Europe' has surpassed that of their teacher Goebbels."

And on August 27, Radio Warsaw declared:

"Poland, the second largest People's Democracy in Europe, is a tempting target for imperialist propaganda. That is why the 'Voice of America' and BBC overwork their stale ideas to sow seeds of hostility in our nation. Although they have failed, they are now trying to minimize the importance of our elections by describing them as a formal act lacking political significance. In this way, imperialist propaganda prepares itself for defeat."

On September 1, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) published a speech made by Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz on the 13th anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Poland. The Minister praised the achievements of the Polish and Soviet Armies, and paid tribute to the USSR's liberation of Poland. As one exile pointed out, Cyrankiewicz ignored the fact that the USSR, in collaboration with Hitler, was responsible for the invasion of Poland in 1939 and the capture of the Eastern territories. The following excerpts from Cyrankiewicz' speech reveals Communist disregard for historical fact and the present equation of Nazism and American Imperialism:

"On this anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland, we send our cordial thanks to the heroic soldiers of the Soviet Union who repulsed the Hitlerite invader and drove him from our land. We bow our heads over the graves of Polish and Soviet soldiers . . . killed on victorious battlefields in Stalingrad, Leningrad and Berlin. . . . It was through these battles that liberation came to us. . . ."

Referring to Poland's alliance with East Germany, the Minister said:

"At present, millions of Germans . . . consider the Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism of the Prussian *Drang nach Osten* just as harmful to them as to the Poles. They are fighting with us to behead the hydra of revenge, neo-Hitlerism, which supported by Anglo-American imperialists, is being regenerated in West Germany. Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are dazzled by what is going on in the Soviet Union as well as in countries of the Peace Camp following the

Soviet pattern. All are intensifying their struggle for peace and progress."

On August 23, the Romanian Communist Government celebrated the eighth anniversary of the "day of liberation by the glorious Soviet Army." This date actually commemorates Romania's joining the Allied camp. Main speaker on the occasion was General Emil Bodnaras, who launched a vehement attack against US war preparations. As quoted by *Scanteia* (Bucharest), August 24, Bodnaras said:

"American and British imperialists . . . have waged a criminal war against the heroic Korean people for over two years. The imperialists are feverishly preparing a third world war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. . . . We hate warmongers. Therefore, the Romanian working people are strengthening the peace camp . . . increasing vigilance . . . and unmasking aggressive enemy plans. Our people are following a policy of firm friendship with the great Soviet Union. . . . Our Armed Forces are constantly becoming more proficient . . . so that they can fulfill at any time the high mission set down for them in the Draft Constitution: 'The Armed Forces . . . defend the sovereignty and independence of the Romanian people, their security and peace.' . . . Long live the great, invincible Soviet Union, the liberator of our land, the bastion of peace, democracy and Socialism."

On August 8, Radio Riga condemned the US "creed of individualism."

"The Soviet nation must be considered a friend because all people of our Fatherland work for the same purpose—the construction . . . of a Communist society. Lenin mentions in his works that the comradeship between Marx and Engels was an example of great friendship. The same can be said about our leaders, Lenin and Stalin. . . . The American imperialists, on the contrary, educate young people to be individualists, to hate others, to have base vices and to desire destruction. . . . Education in the US is aimed at developing youth's lowest instincts."

The Hungarian press recently accused the US of maltreating children. On August 14, *Szabad Nep* painted the following picture of life in America:

"The reign of 60 capitalist families deprives six million children of their fundamental right to education and of their daily bread. Millions of children, forced to starve and beg in huge slum areas, hidden in the shadow of skyscrapers, eventually become depraved. . . . According to data which is still incomplete, more than 2.5 million children are employed in American business and industry; their reward is starvation wages. Most of them get salaries which are 50 percent lower than those earned by adults. Negro children are even more seriously underpaid. On the 'super-farms' repeatedly displayed in American movies, 900,000 children are ruthlessly exploited. 372,000 children receive no salaries at all."

### III. THE FUTURE GUARDIANS OF COMMUNISM

Whether a young person in Eastern Europe is a farmer, a soldier or a worker, he must be imbued with Socialist attitudes so that he is a faithful contributor to the Fatherland and a determined enemy of bourgeois culture. With this goal in mind, Communist leaders have recently stepped-up their youth programs and expounded Soviet credo at length. Youth organizations are continually exhorted to adhere to Party leadership and to emulate Kom-somol youth. They are urged to intensify and coordinate political and military preparations. The latter without the former threatens the supremacy of men in power and even Communism itself. Furthermore, the support of young people is required to increase production in industry and agriculture, to suppress kulaks and conduct successful work competitions. This constant harping on deficiencies and tasks of youth associations indicates both the importance attached to, and the difficulties encountered in, developing the future guardians of the Communist State.

#### The Blight of Pacifism

Since last June, criticism of the Hungarian youth organization, DISZ, has appeared constantly in the Communist press. Two months ago, Istvan Denes, Secretary General of DISZ, outlined the organization's future program on the basis of these attacks. Writing in the August 3 issue of *Szabad Ifjusag*, Denes said that DISZ's most important task is to closely follow and confirm Party leadership. Another essential duty is to fight bourgeois mentality, chauvinism, pacifism and the influence of clerical reaction. Besides this, DISZ members must mobilize youth for the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan, increase peasant membership, develop patriotism and military training, and finally, strengthen DISZ's influence over the masses. The extent to which DISZ fulfills these tasks, Denes said, will be the extent of the organization's strength. Listing present weaknesses condemned by Party leaders, Denes censured the pacifism of youth and denounced all "curly-haired, cowardly fops":

"Hostile ideology still affects youth, mainly because our organization acts as if the enemy no longer existed. We must realize that while we try to teach young people to be militant and brave, the enemy tries to corrupt them and make them cowards. While we try to inculcate in young people a spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the enemy tries to minimize the importance of our country's defense power and poisons our youth by preaching pacifism and chauvinism and by scraping and bowing before bourgeois culture. . . . To successfully educate our youth in patriotism, we must fight against the blight of pacifism. . . . We must strengthen youth's military virtues—courage, hardiness, love of Army life. We must ridicule effeminate, curly-haired fops and cowardly namby-pamby creatures, for such still exist. . . . Only when youth is prepared to follow the Party and



Comrade Rakosi through storms as well as in sunshine can we say that the Party's leadership has been fully recognized by our organization. . . . It is high time we understood that the Party called our organization into being for the purpose of molding youth."

### Youth Must Fight Kulaks

✓ Eliminating peasant resistance is one of DISZ's most important functions. On August 7, *Szabad Ifjusag* lashed out at rural organizations for failures in this activity. Calling the village rich bloodsuckers, vampires and leeches, the newspaper asserted that kulaks must be prevented from exploiting credulous people and cited one example of DISZ's negligence:

"Sandor Peter, kulak of Olbo, did not repair his threshing machine. While the machine was in operation, its rotted wood parts fell off. The machine broke down and one of the girls working on it was seriously injured. She was taken to a hospital and Peter was arrested. But why, we ask, did not DISZ keep an eye on this kulak? Why does the DISZ organization in Ocseny permit kulak Mrs. Pal Magyar to go from house to house encouraging peasants not to deliver grain? Why do they permit her to say that she was not penalized for failing to deliver her own quota? Young people in the countryside are to be blamed for permitting a kulak woman to incite the village without punishment. Such criminal liberalism by DISZ members is disgraceful."

*Szabad Ifjusag* concludes that DISZ members have not yet learned the true nature of kulaks and provides this description for future reference:

"... The kulaks are bloodsuckers who have made fortunes at the expense of the people. . . . These vampires have grown fat on the blood of peasants and starving workmen. These leeches have sucked the blood of workers. . . . At all costs, we cannot permit these foxy characters, these sanctimonious 'good' and 'former' kulaks to worm their way into our organization. We must stop them from misleading credulous people."

Mistakes in DISZ's propaganda work was the subject of another editorial of *Szabad Ifjusag*. On August 9, the newspaper complained that the organization's activists were often too young, too inexperienced and not even members of DISZ:

✓ "Several committees have been concerned only with getting the required number of propagandists and have violated [the organization's rules] by sending to the courses young, inexperienced propagandists who often are not even members. Of 46 pupils at the Komarom County Propagandist School, 27 are not members and 15 never received political education. Often, propagandists are selected without interviews. . . . Our committees must devote more attention to the education of youth in . . . factories, mines and construction projects. Only activists with the best qualifications and a great deal of experience should be sent to these areas."

### Czechoslovak Youth League Purged

The large-scale purges in Czechoslovakia which have systematically affected all levels of the regime reached their peak last November when Rudolph Slansky, former Secretary General of the Party, was arrested. Since then, the need to effect changes in various organizations has been attributed to the "Slansky gang's detrimental influence." After an inspection by Soviet Komsomol officers last May and June, the Czechoslovak Youth League was subjected to this criticism. Numerous editorials appeared on the League's failures in indoctrination and labor recruitment, and at a Prague meeting last June 27 in honor of the Soviet delegation, the League's presiding Secretary, Ladislav Lis, announced that all dangerous elements within the association would be liquidated in the near future. *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), June 28, quoted Lis as saying:

"In many respects the League's work has not kept pace with the accelerated rate of Socialist construction. The Slansky gang's harmful influence on the League caused lags in certain sectors. The saboteurs used every means at their disposal to prevent the League from fulfilling its role as a helper to and reserve of the Party. [They tried] to alienate the League from the Party . . . so that it would perish in its isolation. . . . The Czechoslovak Youth League is now entering an important phase of its existence—a phase in which all harmful influences will be liquidated. That is why the delegation from the Komsomol Central Committee was invited here."

Some results of this announcement were disclosed at a meeting of the League's Central Committee in Prague last August 8 and 9. Many League leaders were absent and high officials in the Party's Central Committee dominated the proceedings. Chairman of the League, Zdenek Hejzlar, was deprived of office and expelled from the organization as a Slanskyite and leading saboteur. Six other high-ranking officers reportedly resigned, including Josef Grohman, former President of the International Union of Students, Stanislav Posusta, former Secretary General of the League, and Rudolph Lebnhart, head of its Slovak branch.

According to exiled researchers, Zdenek Hejzlar was formerly a school teacher who held a subordinate post in the Nazi-established Curatorial Office of Youth Education during the occupation. After the Nazis' defeat, the organization and its staff was taken over by the Communists and many of its members appointed officials in the Youth League. It is said that Hejzlar, as Chairman of the League, was almost constantly in contact with Slansky and was known as Slansky's protege. That Hejzlar was in disfavor began to be evident last January, when he was notably absent from several important functions. Reports from Prague allege that he was arrested prior to his formal purge at the August meeting.

Josef Grohman was known as a Party favorite because of his efficient management of the International Students' Union and his temporary success in concealing its role as a Cominform organ. Exiles say that the Soviet Embassy in Prague also looked on him with a benevolent eye and



accorded him many favors. Grohman's influence reportedly declined, however, as the free student organizations started leaving the IUS in 1948 and 1949.

## Youth Must Follow The Party

Besides announcing changes in the League's leadership and appointing several new Central Committee members, the Prague meeting drafted a fourteen point resolution on the League's future tasks. These include achieving closer cooperation with the Party and the Army, increasing military preparedness, and improving indoctrination activities. Other duties of youth are to see that industrial deliveries to the USSR are met, to promote the collectivization of agriculture by "intensified persuasion" and to "fight mere formality in Socialist competitions."

Several days after this meeting, on August 16, *Rude Pravo* elaborated on these resolutions. The newspaper emphasized, in particular, the need for greater cooperation between the League and the Party and admonished youth for tolerance towards kulaks and indifference to Socialist competitions:

"In factories . . . too many [Youth League] groups failed to complete their tasks, especially in Socialist competitions. They have neither met nor surpassed . . . State production quotas. . . . Young farmers . . . do not always spread progressive ideas about new cooperative forms of agricultural production. . . . They seldom persuade small and middle farmers to join the uniform agricultural cooperatives . . . and do not render sufficient help . . . in unmasking and suppressing kulaks."

Deficiencies in political education was another topic of rebuke:

"Many Youth Leaguers did not meet their tasks in political education. . . . It is essential to wage a constant fight against all signs of bureaucratism and to apply Komsomol and Bolshevik work methods in all Youth League organs. [Regional and District Party Committees] . . . must see that young Communists in the League . . . study at the Year of Party Schooling and that the best non-Party members join groups of the Year of Party Schooling. Besides this, they must . . . select and prepare propagandists whose task is the political education of youth. Party organizations must also watch to what extent Communists lead their children to active work in the League."

One of the ideological tasks of the League is to participate in the current anti-religious campaign. Pointing up the dangers of religion, the Communist newspaper *Rounost* (Brno), August 12, reprinted the following from the Soviet youth paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*:

"Even in Soviet society religion remains an anti-scientific reactionary ideology which confuses the believers' minds with false world views and hinders their cultural and political growth. [The Komsomol] Constitution demands that every Komsomol member wage an active fight against religious superstition. Tolerance towards religion and the observance of religious customs are incompatible with membership in Komsomol."

## "Great Tasks" In Store for Cadets

The military education of Czechoslovak youth was the subject of two recent speeches by Minister of National Defense Alexej Cepicka. In an address to the graduating class at the Military Academy in Hranice, Cepicka placed great emphasis on improving the political training of cadets. He pointed out that political work must be coordinated with military instruction and decried present weaknesses due to unilateral activity. As quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), August 4, Cepicka said:

"Our fighting capacity was on a low level two years ago. Great changes have since taken place. . . . Our Army has persistently adopted Soviet techniques. But, we [must not forget for a moment] Stalin's principle that every soldier and military unit must be prepared for actual combat. This principle is still neglected in our Army, where military and political education are understood as two separate activities. . . . Battle tasks can be completed only with good political training. . . . This means that training must be carried out with the full cooperation of political workers, unit organizations, youth groups and all branches of the Armed Services. . . . You are taking your places as officers at a time . . . when great tasks are in store for you."

## The Goal of Socialist Sports

In another address on August 28, Minister of Defense Cepicka criticized deficiencies in physical training and sports education. Speaking at a ceremony in honor of Army Sports Day, Cepicka declared that the aim of this training, which is to develop a new Socialist man, must always be kept in mind. Too often, he said, sports are practiced merely for their own sake so that individuals and groups are alienated from the "constructive work" of the nation. Cepicka also condemned failures in the fight against capitalist ideology and observed that the country's defense can hardly be ensured if "Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism" are not fostered in defense education. Placing the blame for shortcomings on leading officials of the Sokol organization and the State, Cepicka ascribed the cause to neglect of Soviet methods:

"[Because of this neglect] sport competitions still have not been organized into a system which promotes both mass development and the achievement of new individual records. This neglect is also the reason why some branches of sport, such as shooting, calisthenics and especially gymnastics, swimming, boxing, horseback riding and others are not developed. This is also the reason for the shortage of trainers, umpires and coaches. . . ."

Cepicka said that some officials think physical training less important than production and are indifferent about the fulfillment of sports tasks. Decrying this attitude, the Minister again stressed the need to combat bourgeois ideology as well as local patriotism:

"The catastrophic results of this indifference towards physical education and sports can be well imagined. . . . Each year we must organize Spartakiads [sports competitions] . . . to demonstrate achievements. Furthermore,

it is imperative to conduct an uncompromising fight in all physical education organizations and with the help of all officials against capitalist and bourgeois ideas. . . . It is high time we suppressed the individualist concept of sports evident in the pampering of stars and bartering of players . . . who, today, are 'tied up' by one club after another, as in the old capitalist fashion. It is impossible to remain passive when sport veterans, who only a short time ago served any swindler for money, are entrusted with educating working youth in large enterprises. At the same time, a fight against bourgeois local patriotism must be waged. . . ."

#### "Patriotic Education for Peace"

In Poland, the increased activity of the paramilitary League of Soldiers' Friends has been evident in recent issues of the Communist press. The scope of the League's work was described by alternate member of the Politburo, Stefan Matuszewski, in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) on August 17. Matuszewski said that the main tasks of the organization were to strengthen the "indissoluble bond" between the people and the Armed Forces, and to educate League members in patriotism. This training includes lectures on the Polish-Soviet brotherhood of arms as well as military instruction. The League also organizes "educational" programs for the Armed Forces and sends its members to help farmers whose sons are in the Service. Matuszewski gave the following figures on the number of training courses formed during the past year:

"The LPZ [League] has trained thousands in shooting, driving, anti-aircraft defense, topography and in coding. . . . In Poznan Province, 2,000 courses were organized this year; in Katowice, 1,500 courses were organized; and in both Cracow and Bydgoszcz, 1,200 courses were organized. Furthermore, over 300 lectures on the Polish Armed Forces and their fighting traditions were delivered within a month in Bydgoszcz Province. Approximately 20,000 persons attended these lectures. . . . The reward for the most active LPZ members is a two-week vacation in an LPZ resort."

Matuszewski said that more and more League chapters are being organized at large industrial establishments, schools and construction sites and that new cadres are being formed for radio-telegraphers, drivers and tractor specialists. He cautioned, however, that the League must continue to expand its activities, develop paramilitary work, and provide more adequate training, especially in the countryside:

"There are many communities and State Agricultural Farms where chapters have not been organized. . . . LPZ activity in the countryside must be increased. Aid from provincial and district Party committees to the League is also inadequate. This applies also to the Polish Youth Association and the Peasant Self-Help Group. Supervision of the League's activities is not sufficiently coordinated with those of the Maritime League, the Aviation League and 'Service to Poland.' . . . Next year, military training will be increased. . . . This will help strengthen our Fatherland and consolidate peace."

An explanation of the Polish Youth Association's recent decision to take over honorary leadership of the Air Force (See p. 10, September issue) was given by Air Force Commander, General Jan Turkiel, a former Soviet officer, in the August 23 issue of *Trybuna Ludu*. From Turkiel's statement, it appears that this step, patterned on Soviet policy, is an attempt to recruit for the Air Force only youth thoroughly indoctrinated by Communist mass organizations. In accordance with the usual propaganda line, Turkiel describes the strengthening of air power as an important contribution to the defense of peace:

" . . . We will follow the example of the brotherly Soviet Union and draw on its rich fund of experiences. Soviet youth enthusiastically answered the appeal of the Ninth Convention of Komsomol, which proclaimed this slogan 'Komsomolec [Komsomol members] in the Air'. . . . That appeal brought thousands of boys and girls to the Soviet Air Force. . . . In the Great National War waged by the Soviet Union, the leading role of Komsomolec pilots . . . was fully demonstrated. . . . The Komsomol's honorary patronage of the Soviet Air Force during war and peace became one of the sources of the growing strength of the Soviet Union—the greatest air power in the world. This should be a good example to our youth, who are struggling to increase Poland's strength and her contribution to the defense of peace."

#### IV. PARTY PLANNING

Communist Parties in Satellite Europe claim to represent not only majority interests but the best interests of all people under their domination. By such assertions they try to justify a one-party system and the identification of the Party with the State. They assert also that unity in a Socialist nation is essential and that opposition is dangerous because imperialist rulers threaten the world with a new war.

This imposed solidarity is the most striking factor in news about election preparations for the Polish Parliament. Items from other parts of the area reveal that the Communists need more support. To increase production, they have launched campaigns to recruit Party members from the ranks of labor and agriculture, and to strengthen the State, they have tried to sift Party candidates more thoroughly. Failures in all sectors are blamed on poor political work and on ideological backwardness among the masses. Using the Bolshevik Party as their model for success, Satellite leaders have recently stressed the need to intensify political education, increase vigilance and assure the Party a constant supply of politically "mature" members. They have made pledges to follow Stalin's road even more closely.

Elections to the Sejm, the Polish Parliament, will be held on Sunday, October 26. Both the Communist Party and the entire State apparatus have been mobilized for work in the pre-election period. Recently, a State Electoral

Commission and the Electoral Committee of the National Front were set up. The first of these is supposed to be a State organ in charge of all official activities connected with the elections. However, as one exiled journalist has pointed out, "since no distinction can be made between the Party and the State, the Commission is obviously a Communist organ." Its Chairman, Wacław Barcikowski, is First President of the Supreme Court, and a member of the State Council and the Supreme Council of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Association. The Commission's Secretary, Władysław Dworakowski, is Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party and an alternate member of the Politburo. One of the Vice-Chairmen, Paweł Wojaś, is a Communist trade union leader, whose membership on a State Commission did not prevent him from making a recent speech advocating the Communist Party's platform.

From the list of the Commission's rank and file, it seems that the Communists are pretending to include all strata of the population. The press mentions, for instance, that a certain Stanisław Mazur, an individual smallholder, is among the Commission's members.

### The National Front

The Electoral Committee of the National Front was set up at a large rally in Warsaw on August 30, 1952. The Front is not an organization but a political slogan, first launched by President Bierut in February 1951. It is supposed to symbolize the unity of all Poles working for the good of the State under Communist leadership. Despite the fact that the Front is not an organized body, an Electoral Committee to represent it was appointed. The Chairman is President Bolesław Bierut, and the 15 man Presidium includes such men as Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz and Minister of Defense Rokossowski. A "prominent" Catholic layman is also on the Presidium. Five other Catholics, three of them priests, are among the Committee's 55 members. It seems clear from these names that the campaign for getting out the Catholic votes is being conducted under the auspices of the National Front. Also on the Committee is a "Jewish civic leader" who is Chairman of the Cultural Association of Polish Jews.

### Only One List of Candidates

Judging from the speeches made at the Warsaw rally, only one list of candidates will be submitted to the voters. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), August 31, quoted Stefan Ignar, one of the leaders of the Communist-dominated United Peasant Party, on the importance of having a joint list of candidates:

"The right thing to do is to go to the polls as a National Front. It is right to have a joint list of candidates headed by the name of Citizen Bierut. The Party which I have the honor to represent will not be voting for the first time on a joint list of candidates representing the United Polish Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and mass civic organizations. In

1947, we had a joint list and a joint democratic bloc. This enabled us to smash the bourgeois party—that is, Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party. If we were not unified and had separate lists, foreign agents would undoubtedly play up this split and try to undermine the alliance of workers and peasants with the help of kulaks and other speculating capitalist elements. . . ."

The general tone of the rally was set by member of the Party Politburo Edward Ochab who, in his opening speech, declared that the United Polish Workers' Party represented and defended the interests of all workers and all Party and non-Party people. The Party's deputies in the Sejm, he said, would continue this policy. Ochab proposed, however, that the new Sejm contain more non-Party members than in the past—an odd statement for a party leader to make. According to *Trybuna Ludu*, August 31, Ochab said:

"Now, after the major forces of reaction have been smashed, it is right and useful to have more non-Party deputies in the Sejm than there were formerly. The mass organization of our working people should nominate these candidates. These candidates should enjoy the confidence of the people working with them and be distinguished by their devoted work for People's Poland."

Not forgetting his own Party, Ochab said:

"The United Polish Workers' Party, hardened in battle, faithful to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and to the working class, will conduct a victorious campaign [in alliance with the other parties], and lead the Polish nation to new victories in the march to Socialism."

### "An End to Arguments"

One of the more interesting speeches at the rally was made by Eugene Dabrowski, a Catholic priest and a scholar known for his translations of the Bible. Dabrowski said that although there is no country in which there can be unanimity on political, social and religious affairs, there were certain issues which called for "bowed heads and an end to arguments." Dabrowski enumerated these issues as: the reconstruction of the country, the final absorption of the Western Territories into Poland, and the need to avert war. Dabrowski said that he was at one with the government on all these matters. His particular emphasis on the "revisionist threats from West Germany regarding the Oder-Neisse frontier" makes it clear that the question of the Western Territories is being used to gain popular support in the election campaign. Dabrowski said:

"The masses of Polish Catholics are patriotic and aware of the country's needs. Everyone knows of the attempts made by the enemies of Poland against the integrity of our territories. Internal discord would only facilitate the task of those who hope to divide our nation and thus achieve their goals more easily. Every worthy Pole must recognize that the voices we hear from West Germany are insulting."



### "Unity Is Essential"

Propaganda throughout this period has harped on the unity of the nation under Communist leadership and the growth of Polish-Soviet Friendship. The following excerpt from an editorial in *Trybuna Ludu*, August 31, is characteristic:

"... Owing to national unity, we have been able to strengthen our friendship... with countries of the peace camp, headed by the unconquered Soviet Union. We have been able to increase our country's defense power... to suppress reactionary remnants who... dream of returning to their landed estates... regaining their power and imposing on the Polish people a Fascist government and national slavery."

On September 5, Radio Warsaw, reading the National Front program, said that unity of the "Peace Camp" was essential because of the militarization of West Germany:

"Our Socialist construction continues despite constant threats to peace by the imperialists and their West German vassals. The rearming of the West German camp is aimed at [destroying] Polish independence and [that of the] peaceloving nations. The only effective way to oppose this danger is to strengthen friendship with nations also in danger and to intensify the struggle for peace."

The National Front program is a lengthy document which includes an appeal for fulfillment of the Six Year Plan and a statement about a new Five Year Plan for 1956-1960 in which overall production will be increased tenfold over pre-1939 output. Despite all this, however, the general Communist estimate of the elections is that, as *Zycie Warszawy* stated on August 18, "they will change nothing."

### Party Education Intensified

Basic organizations of the Hungarian Workers' Party held meetings during July and August to discuss the struggle against the "class enemy" and Party education during the coming year. The usual attacks were launched against "kulaks, black reactionaries and treacherous Social Democrats corrupting workers." In a report on these meetings, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), August 21, deplored the lack of Communist vigilance in factories and in rural areas:

"Recently, as a result of negligence... health protection of workers was ignored. Also, certain opportunists burdened the working peasantry with the obligations of kulaks... and retreated when the enemy put on pressure. The attitude of [Party] members must be severely criticized in these meetings. Opportunism which can render Party organization unfit for the struggle and make even honest men desert the People's cause, must not be tolerated. A person cannot be a Communist and at the same time make concessions to the enemy at the expense of the people..."

On July 26, *Szabad Nep* announced that Party education would be intensified and that about 50 percent of all members would be given regular political courses. About

30 percent of DISZ members will also receive this training:

"In addition, some 150,000 non-member activists must be given the opportunity to attend educational courses. . . . If we want to eradicate the vestiges of capitalist mentality, we must popularize the ideals of patriotism, national unity, and proletarian internationalism. Only ideologically trained and militant members will be able to influence workers . . . and expose enemies of the people."

Discussing the importance of selecting competent propagandists, the newspaper wrote:

"According to the Political Committee's resolution, we need propagandists who are familiar with Party policy, experienced in practical work, and thoroughly acquainted with domestic and foreign politics. . . . Serious mistakes have been made in choosing propagandists to educate youth. Often, Party committees delegate the weakest elements to positions which should be considered the most important in the field of ideological training. All these mistakes must be remedied . . . and every effort made to avoid leaving preparations to the last minute—an error that nearly damaged the success of the whole campaign last year."

### Domestic Servants Are Not Party Material

For the past several months, the Communist Party in Hungary has been trying to decrease membership and strengthen its role as the "vanguard of the working class." At the National Convention of the Hungarian Workers' Party in Budapest on March 1 and 2, Istvan Kovacs, Secretary of the Central Committee, announced that quality rather than quantity would be the new principle applied in recruiting candidates. It was also announced that all candidates under 24 would be directed to the youth organization, DISZ. (See April issue, p. 8.) These resolutions, however, have apparently been ignored by many Party organizations. On August 29, the Budapest daily *Szabad Nep* complained that many new members under 24 have been accepted and that little attention has been paid to the candidates' qualifications:

"The acceptance of fewer Party candidates has not been accompanied by efforts to raise standards. . . . Some organizations disregarded the Political Committee's decision about rejecting candidates under 24. In June alone, 35 percent of the Party candidates in Szabolcs County were under 24. This was also true of 32 percent of the candidates in Somogy County and 34 percent in Nograd County. . . . At a Central Committee meeting . . . on June 27, attention was again drawn to the fact that young men under 24 must be active in DISZ before they can be admitted to the Party. It is DISZ's task to train them and make them worthy of Party membership. [This was not obeyed] and what is more, Győr County accepted more men under the age limit than in previous months. This practice is detrimental not only to the age composition of the Party but also to our youth organizations. This undisciplined attitude must cease immediately. . . ."

*Szabad Nep* voiced other complaints about the un-



suitability of the candidates recommended. Evidently, domestic servants as well as former employers are not proper Party material:

"In defiance of orders from the Political Committee and without the Central Committee's permission . . . some Party organizations accept as candidates domestic servants and former employers. . . . Even hostile elements are admitted. In Bac county, for instance, 30 men who were previously rejected by the Party were listed as candidates."

## Party Candidates Will Be Recruited from Industry

Deploing the fact that reprimands are rarely given to those who recommend unsuitable candidates, *Szabad Nep* demanded closer supervision of branch organizations and, if necessary, disciplinary measures. Criticism was also directed against the laxity of Party Committees in building Party organizations in industry. In the future, the newspaper announced, at least half of all Party candidates will be recruited from essential industry:

"Party organizations were not strengthened in industries essential to the People's economy. . . . For instance, in Nograd County, not one miner was added to the list of candidates in July. In Veszprem and Fejer, Party organizations have neglected bauxite mines and factories. It is obvious that such negligence in the field of Party discipline is reflected in production and that there are shortcomings in plan fulfillments. In addition, Party organizations still pay little attention to non-Party members with outstanding production records. . . . In the future, the majority or at least half of all Party candidates, must come from the ranks of factory workers, particularly from among the outstanding workers in essential industry."

## Too Few Workers and Farmers in the Party

In Czechoslovakia, also, much emphasis has been placed on recruiting Party candidates from among the best workers. On August 17, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), published an article by member of the Central Committee Bruno Koehler on the need to regulate the Party's growth and composition by eliminating careerists and assuring a constant supply of "politically mature" candidates. Koehler said:

"Party organizations often assume that if our Party is numerically strong . . . we need not admit new members. Such an opinion is incorrect. . . . The Party must always eliminate opportunists. . . . It must grow and its growth must be regulated in such a way as to admit the most mature workers from decisive sectors of our economic, political and cultural life."

Koehler complained that applications for Party membership had been neglected and that in many districts no new members had been admitted in June. No effort had been made, he said, to judge the suitability for full membership of over 100,000 candidates, although their term of probation had expired. Koehler also said that too few candidates had been recruited from industry and agriculture:

"[Of candidates admitted in the first half of 1952] more came from local administration, State offices and households than from mines, foundries, power stations, the chemical industry and from the ranks of small and middle farmers. The reason for this . . . is that Party organizations do not understand how to assure a constant supply of new candidates from decisive areas of our economic and political life."

According to exiled researchers, Koehler's admission that an insufficient number of workers and farmers have joined the Party reveals that the strata of population expected to form the backbone of the regime has been the most reluctant in supporting it. It also seems that many who joined desired material advantages, such as jobs.

The importance of recruiting miners is stressed frequently in the Communist press. This campaign has probably been stimulated by the recent failures in the Ostrava region. (See September issue, p. 2.) On August 19, *Rude Pravo* wrote in this connection:

"The main task of Party groups is to persuade non-partisans to fulfill the plan. A working group led by model Communists will master even the most difficult tasks in coal mining. The second task of the Party group is to educate members of the team; that is, to increase their class [consciousness] and political maturity. . . . By successfully linking production tasks of workers with the problems of Party political life . . . the team will be transformed into a disciplined collective ready to fight and unwilling to tolerate loafers and parasites. . . . Party groups have just started their activities in mines. . . . It is important that they apply previous experiences effectively throughout the entire Ostrava-Karvina mining area."

## "Workers Must Be Indoctrinated"

Similarly, in a broadcast of September 10, Radio Bucharst stressed that one of the most important conditions for improving Party activities was the coordination of political work with economic tasks. Asserting that neglect of political work is a major cause of production failures, the commentator said:

". . . Some Party members underestimate political work and . . . often completely neglect it. This is very harmful to workers and to the State. . . . For instance, in the Semanatoarea factory in Bucharest . . . political methods are not used to mobilize Party members and workers. Socialist competitions have not been developed; workers are not persuaded to use their initiative; Communist education is almost entirely neglected. As a result, the factory has lagged far behind schedule. . . . How can Party organizations mend this situation? . . . They must . . . learn continuously from . . . the Bolshevik Party of the USSR."

## No Action

Throughout July and August, District Party Conferences were held in Bulgaria for the purpose of discussing shortcomings in work. (See September issue, p. 12.) Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov, who was present at the con-

ference in Stalin, made a speech on "the Bolshevik method of work and leadership," in which he emphasized the importance of coordinating theory and practice. As an example of lack of coordination and deficiencies in collective leadership, Chervenkov pointed to confusion in shipbuilding enterprises. As quoted by *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), August 10, he said:

"Comrade Jelio Evtimov, the Party organizer of the Central Committee at shipbuilding enterprises, said that in all enterprises [Party organizations] do not have the proper attitude towards the work of technical engineering staffs and that nothing has been done to correct this. This is what exists: the Party organizer of the Central Committee knows about shortcomings in shipbuilding enterprises. The Municipal Committee knows about serious difficulties in shipbuilding enterprises but takes no action at all. The Regional Committee knows about deficiencies in shipbuilding enterprises but does nothing about them. The Ministry of Heavy Industry knows about failures but does not eliminate them. The Economic Department at the Central Committee knows about these shortcomings, but says and does nothing. As a result, all shipbuilding enterprises are in a critical condition and the State sustains heavy losses. The same condition is true of the May First factory and numerous other enterprises."

Listing the principles to be followed in work Chervenkov demanded complete fulfillment of tasks, complete coordination, and centralized leadership. He concluded: "Understanding Bolshevism, the great experience of the All-Union Communist Party [Bolshevik] is the duty of all Party cadres."

### The All-Union Party Congress

The entire Satellite press celebrated the Soviet Union's announcement that the 19th All-Union Party Congress would be held in Moscow this month. In addition to making tiresome eulogies of Soviet leadership, the various Communist regimes initiated Socialist competitions in honor of the occasion. The Polish newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), August 21, printed the following under the headline, "The Leading Force of Mankind":

"... The first post-war Congress of the Bolshevik Party will take place in conditions very different from those in the past. . . . At present, the Soviet Union is the strongest power in the world . . . the inspiration and hope of progressive humanity fighting for peace, democracy and Socialism. . . . Now, when the imperialist-capitalist countries headed by the US are trying to rule the world and longing for war . . . the country of victorious Socialism is engaged in peaceful, creative work. The USSR is . . . producing magnificent scientific and cultural material. The Five Year Plan provides for further development of all branches of Soviet national economy. . . . [Our Party] will follow the course of debates at the 19th Congress . . . and will strengthen the bonds of brotherhood which unite Poland to her great ally, the powerful country of victorious Socialism."

The Hungarian daily *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), August 22, commented in a similar vein:

"By building Socialism, the Soviet Union has advanced the cause of working people all over the world. The USSR has brought freedom to hundreds of millions in China and the People's Democracies. Since the 18th Party Congress [in 1939] the face of the world has changed completely. Socialism has become a tremendous power which cannot be stopped . . . by the dark forces of capitalism. The Five Year Plan, which the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party has just made public, presents the people of the Soviet Union with the great task of creating a solid basis for Communism."

The Bulgarian press was equally unstinting in praise. *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), August 22, wrote:

"The 19th Congress of the All-Union Party has historic significance. The decisions of the Congress will give working people throughout the world new and better perspectives. . . . The peace fighters will gain new strength and new confidence in the struggle against the atom-plague warmongers. . . . The Congress of the Party of Lenin and Stalin will protect the working classes in countries of the People's Democracy. [We] will follow even more energetically the Soviet peoples on their road to Communism."

On September 4, the Estonian Radio announced some results of Socialist competitions in honor of the Congress:

"The leather and footwear cooperative, Kommunaar, announced work results for the past ten days. This was the first phase of Socialist competitions in honor of the 19th Congress of the Party. 3,100 pairs of shoes in excess of the plan were produced. . . .

"Milkmaids received the news of the 19th Congress of the Party with great enthusiasm. . . . The news also inspired artists of Soviet Estonia to greater work efforts in preparation for an exhibition of applied arts."

### Appointments and Dismissals

In recent weeks several changes have been made in the Cabinet of Communist Bulgaria. According to exile circles, these events are part of the general upheaval within the Party which has resulted in various other dismissals and reappointments during the past year. On August 21, *Troud* (Sofia), announced that Anton Yugov had been relieved of his post as Minister of Heavy Industry and had been named a Deputy Prime Minister. The newspaper also reported that Tano Tzolov, formerly Deputy Minister of Heavy Industry had been appointed to replace him. Two weeks later, on September 3, Radio Sofia made public other changes:

"Minister of Foreign Trade, Dimitar Ganev, has been relieved of his post so that he may take another appointment. The new Minister of Foreign Trade is Zhivko Zhivkov. Minister of Agriculture, Mikola Stoilov, has [also] been relieved of his post so that he may take another one, and Stanko Todorov has been named to replace him."

The Bulgarian press gave no explanations for these changes, and so far, both Stoilov and Ganev have not been named to new posts. According to an escaped Bulgarian journalist, the appointment of Yugov as Deputy Minister is a further step in his decline from power, a process which began in 1949:

"At the time of the large scale purges in the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1949, Yugov was Minister of Interior and chief of the Communist police. He had been a great help to the Communists in seizing power and in assuring a Communist majority in the elections to parliament in 1945, 1946 and 1949. Shortly after this, however, Yugov's star began to wane. Chervenkov charged him with negligence in reporting and detecting the inimical activities of Traicho Kostov, and Yugov was publicly berated for this neglect at a Party Conference held in March 1950, several months after Kostov was hanged. Since then, Yugov has slipped down the Communist ladder; from fourth-ranking Communist in the regime, he became Minister of Heavy Industry, a post which gave him little opportunity to score any remarkable success. For the past two years, the Ministry has been severely criticized for the inferior quality of production and for failures in the fulfillment of economic plans. Probably, Yugov was not purged because of his past services to the regime, or because the Party is not prepared to denounce him for negligence at this time. His appointment as Deputy Prime Minister, however, is no promotion; Yugov will not even have the clerical staff he has been accustomed to in former posts. It may be that some time in the near future, the Communists will liquidate him completely."

Ganev's dismissal is said to be related to his close collaboration with Ana Pauker in Romania. In 1932, Ganev was a political refugee in Romania, and became an active member of the Romanian Communist Party and a member of its Central Committee. At that time, he worked closely with Pauker until his return to Bulgaria. In 1946, Ganev was appointed Ambassador to Bucharest and resumed his friendship with the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is reported that when Ana Pauker was dismissed, rumors circulated in Sofia that Ganev's position would be weakened, although few were willing to speculate on his fate.

An emigre newspaperman makes the following comment on Stoilov's removal:

"Stoilov's dismissal is more for economic than political reasons. The collectivization drive in Bulgaria has encountered severe resistance because of compulsory State deliveries of farm products. Former Minister of Agriculture Tito Chernokolev was made a scapegoat for these failures. The same fate has overtaken his successor Stoilov. The new appointees to the vacant posts are neither politically well-known nor high-ranking Communists, but it is to be assumed that they are faithful Moscow servants."

### Changes in Romanian Government

On August 21, the Romanian press announced that Minister of Health Vasile Marza had been dismissed from his post because of "unfitness and grave negligence." Marza who was appointed in August 1948, recently headed the group of Romanian physicians visiting the USSR. He came back full of praise for the "most advanced medical science in the world," and sharply attacked cosmopolitan tendencies among Romanian physicians. (See June issue, p. 40.) Octavian Berlogea, who was appointed the new Minister of Health, is relatively unknown.

On August 26, the Ministry for the Oil and Coal Industry was divided into two separate ministries. Constantin Mateescu, the former Minister, was appointed the new Minister of the Oil Industry and William Suder was appointed to head the Ministry for the Coal Industry. Suder was formerly Assistant Minister of the Armed Forces. Both men are members of the Party's Central Committee.

On August 27, *Scanteia* (Bucharest), announced that Gheorghe Florescu had been "relieved" of his post as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth. He was replaced by Vasile Musat, a Secretary of the organization. Musat's rise has been rapid. Last year he was only a member of the organization. Paul Cornea was considered the logical choice for this position, having been a Secretary for several years. Florescu is a member of the Party's Orgburo and went to Copenhagen in January 1952, to represent his organization at a meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

# Slanted Economy

## I. ACCENT ON THE EAST

A NUMBER of new trade agreements have been concluded over the summer months between member countries of the Soviet bloc and the free world. Both the East and West figure in these negotiations, with the appearance of Communist China especially significant. Trade treaties have been signed with China by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

On the whole, the new commitments suggest increased demands upon already over-taxed people and machines, because the agreements are most often political exchanges unsupported by economic realities.

### Bulgaria

*Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) published an article on July 23 entitled "Trade Agreement For the Exchange of Commodities Between Bulgaria and China":

"As a result of the negotiations which were carried out in February between the state delegations of the Peoples' Republics of Bulgaria and China, a trade agreement for 1952 was signed between the two countries in Sofia on July 21. This agreement, the first recorded in the history of our two countries, marks the beginning of firm economic relations between the People's Republics of Bulgaria and China.

"The PRB will supply China with machine tools, electrical products, nitrogen fertilizers, chemicals and many other products. The People's Republic of China will supply Bulgaria with non-ferrous metals, cotton, silk and silk fabrics, tea, hides, etc. . . . Negotiations were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. . . . The new trade agreement greatly contributes toward the economic strengthening of our two countries and will further friendly and peaceful relations. . . . The agreement was signed for Bulgaria by Dimitar Ganev, Minister of Foreign Trade, and for China by its diplomatic representative in Sofia, Tzao Sian Jen."

This is the first trade agreement ever concluded between Bulgaria and China. Prior to World War II Bulgaria was not even in official trade relations with China. Most of the imported Chinese goods in Bulgaria, largely hides, were purchased on the West European market.

In the wake of this agreement, Radio Sofia in its broadcast of August 12, and *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), August 12, remarked:

"In fulfillment of the trade agreement with Communist China, the Collective of the State Mechanical Plant was entrusted with the job of manufacturing a number of machine tools. On this occasion, a general meeting was held in the Plant, at which the director of the enterprise, Nikola Stephanov, reported that the Collective is entrusted with the manufacture of . . . a number of lathes, shapers, punch presses, hack-saws and other machine tools. The workers accepted the honorable task with great enthusiasm."

On August 20, Radio Sofia and *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) both announced:

"The Workers Collective of the Machine Plant 'V. Kolarov' in Stalin, are proud to fulfill the order for Communist China. The Plant is manufacturing four pneumatic hammers, each with 150 kgr. striking power. . . . Casting of these pneumatic hammers is already completed."

### "Go-Between"

A Bulgarian economist in Western Europe submits the following explanation of these exports:

"Well-informed Western circles report that Bulgaria has begun exporting machine tools to Communist China. They explain this somewhat sensational news in the following way:

"It would be foolish to pretend that Bulgaria has the necessary equipment either to manufacture or export machine tools. It is a fact, however, that the USSR has undertaken a number of industrial contracts, which she is in no position to fulfill, and that in order to supply industrial equipment to Communist China, she has asked her Satellites to take an active part in supplying machine tools to that country.' They also believe that 'a detailed plan was prepared in Moscow whereby each Satellite was forced to give priority delivery of industrial supplies to China. In accordance with the terms of the plan, industrial material supplied by East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland is dispatched to China via the port of Stettin.' As for Bulgaria, she plays the go-between and lends her name to the transactions,



carrying out her role through the intermediary of Switzerland, where she has her straw men and where she buys machine tools from Western Germany. When the machine tools reach Bulgaria, their origin is camouflaged in a factory in Sofia, from where the obviously German-manufactured machine tools are dispatched to the port of Bourgas. There they are loaded on a Chinese cargo boat whose destination is Communist China."

Regarding trade with Hungary, Radio Sofia in its broadcast of August 9, made it known:

"The Bulgarian railroad workers and miners have declared a competition for intensified exportation of ores and coal to Hungarian Socialist Industry. . . . On August 8, Bulgarian railroad workers sent Hungary 40 freight cars loaded with Bulgarian ores and coal. The train was decorated with Bulgarian and Hungarian flags and placards."

This exchange is of special interest in the light of recent exile reports, one of which states:

"It is a general rumor in Sofia that a large amount of Bulgarian coal production is destined for export, especially to Hungary. How much of this is true, is not known. It is known, however, that all orders of coal (for domestic use) which were placed during the spring of 1952, have been suspended; orders for wood and immediate delivery of same are still impossible."

And *Zemедельско Zname* (Sofia), August 9 and 10, reports the following information regarding fruit exports:

"This year's apple crop is not only abundant but of very good quality in comparison with last year. So far, over 200 tons of apples have been picked. Today, the first freight cars of apples for export to the German Democratic Republic were loaded.

"During the last 3-4 years the cultivation of strawberries in Bulgaria has been restored with incredible speed. . . . The Bulgarian strawberry is very much sought on the foreign market because of its high qualities, and is exported in exchange for valuable agricultural machines. . . .

"The grape harvest in the county of Plovdiv has started. . . . Cooperative farmers from Markovo village have picked over 36 tons of high quality ['chaush'] grapes. From Plovdiv, four freight cars loaded with grapes left for Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.

"Today the first freight car loaded with peaches of the 'Elberta' and 'Hale' varieties, picked in the orchards of the TKZS in Petrich, left for friendly Czechoslovakia."

## Czechoslovakia

Radio Mecca reported on July 31 that a trade agreement has been signed between Czechoslovakia and Syria, by which the contracting parties have agreed on "treatment of the most favored nation" and on an equal exchange of goods. It was said that the Czechoslovak Trade Mission proceeded via Beirut to Iran to conclude a similar agreement there.

*Rude Pravo* revealed on July 17:

"Negotiations between the Chinese and Czechoslovak state delegations were concluded on July 15 in Prague

with the signing of a protocol extending the 1951 agreement for the exchange of goods and payments between the Chinese People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Republic for the year 1952."

The *Czechoslovak Economic Bulletin*, issued by the Ministry of Foreign Trade, gave some of the background of this agreement in the July 15 number:

"The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments between the Chinese People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Republic . . . is the third agreement on economic matters between the two countries since the great victory of the Chinese people. The first agreement was signed in Peking in June 1950, the second—increasing the exchange fourfold—was concluded in Peking on June 21, 1951. . . .

"Czechoslovakia will supply China with machines, machine tools, factory equipment, steel and iron products, measuring instruments, means of transportation, chemicals, tires, medical equipment, and a large number of other industrial products and by-products.

"China will export . . . raw materials for the heavy and light industries and for the food branch. . . . Ores and metal concentrates, wool, silk, hides and furs, oilseeds and oils, bristles, feathers . . . tea, condiments, etc."

According to the August 2 edition of the *Manchester Guardian*, on August 1, the President of the British Board of Trade reported to the House of Commons on the recently signed Czechoslovak-British trade agreement covering the period from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953:

"Under the new agreement Britain will take only £100,000 worth of Czechoslovak [textile] piece goods in 1952-3, compared with £300,000 in 1951-52 and £1,330,000 in 1950-1—only one-half of 1 percent of the total textile piece goods coming from Western Europe. . . . Within the total quota, that for apparel has been cut from £775,000 to £370,000. In addition, the Czechs have agreed to take more textile goods from us and the quota has been raised from £165,000 to £350,000. . . .

"Not only do we get supplies of essential commodities . . . but the Czechs have agreed to pay not less than £15,000,000 within the five-year term of the agreement in respect of financial obligations to the United Kingdom."

A German correspondent writes that under the 1952 agreement, Czechoslovakia is exporting foodstuffs to West Germany valued at 64,000,000 marks. In spite of the strict rationing and chronic shortages, these include 6,720,000 marks worth of eggs, 2,100,000 worth of fruits and vegetables, 5,460,000 worth of grain, 26,460,000 worth of sugar, and 12,600,000 worth of oil and fats.

Recently, a radio announcement from Helsinki disclosed that discussions were opened on September 9 in Prague between Finland and Czechoslovakia on questions arising from the tri-partite commercial agreement between those two countries and the USSR.

## First Meeting of National Committee

After a considerable lapse of time (the Moscow Economic Conference ended in April), *Rude Pravo* announced in its August 24 issue:

"On Friday [August 22] the Czechoslovak National Committee for the Promotion of the Development of International Trade held its constituent meeting at the Prague Chamber of Commerce. The Committee consists of 49 members from the ranks of economists, scientists, representatives of industry, foreign trade, cooperatives, and trade union functionaries. Its activities are directed by an 11 member presidium. The chairman is the Director General of the Czechoslovak State Bank, Dr. Otakar Pohl, the deputy chairman Dr. Otakar Taufer, and the Secretary General Dr. Rudolf Kozusnik.

"... The Committee discussed the development of international trade relations since the termination of the Moscow Conference and the last session of the International Committee on the Promotion of International Trade."

No further details were given.

### Hungary

During the last few months Hungary has signed a number of important trade agreements with various foreign countries. These agreements can be divided into three groups: 1. those with the "People's Democracies," 2. those with the West European nations, 3. those with the Near and Middle Eastern Countries.

1. Among the agreements belonging to the first group, the one signed with the "Chinese People's Republic" in Budapest on July 23 is the most significant. The official announcement, which appeared in *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), July 23, did not specify the kind of goods to be exchanged but merely commented: "This agreement is a further significant step towards the expansion and intensive development of trade relations between Hungary and China."

Regarding a new Hungarian-Bulgarian trade agreement, the August issue of the periodical *New Hungary*, published by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote the following:

"The agreement provides for a substantial increase in the volume of goods to be traded by our countries. Products to be delivered to Hungary include pyrites, iron ore, coal, tobacco, hides and sulphuric acid. In return, Bulgaria will receive mining and refrigeration equipment and machinery, petroleum products and drugs."

The magazine also commented on a recent Hungarian-Polish trade treaty. "... for the shipment of coal, coke, metals, chemicals, railway cars, and timber to Hungary, Poland will receive machines, busses, grain, metals, medicine and chemical products."

2. Concerning a new Hungarian-French agreement, *New Hungary* wrote: "It calls for the shipment of agricultural produce and light and heavy industrial products from Hungary while France is to send various raw materials and semi-finished articles to Hungary."

The treaty between Hungary and Norway provides:

"Hungary will export sugar, radio parts, cut hardwood, hemp, thread, glass for vacuum flasks, fabrics, incandescent lamps and other commodities, including sewing machines. Norwegian exports will include oils,

fats, fish, chemicals, wood pulp, staple rayon and fibre, and machines."

It is noteworthy that no mention is made of the value of goods to be exchanged. However, regarding trade arrangements with Finland, the same magazine revealed:

"The agreement is estimated to reach the value of 3.5 million dollars on both sides. Hungary will receive wood pulp, plywood, telegraph poles, cellulose, paper, synthetic textile material and machinery, and will ship sugar, agricultural produce, floor and wall tiles, porcelain, motorcycles, bicycle parts, machinery, chemicals and textiles to Finland."

3. In the past, Hungary's trade relations with the Asiatic countries were insignificant. Recently, however, these relations are being developed. Among the agreements concluded with the Asiatic countries the extension of the one signed with Iran in 1951 is most important. *New Hungary* reported: "Hungary will buy hides, tobacco, ores, oil and oil products, from Iran. In return, industrial products including agricultural and other types of machinery and cotton goods will be exported to Iran." (See Vol. 1, No. 4 of *NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*, page 22.) And also revealed that "Under an agreement with Pakistan, Hungary will ship light and heavy industrial products, especially textiles, electrical equipment and pharmaceutical goods, in return for raw hides, jute and cotton. Pakistan is in need of machinery and factory equipment."

Other information discloses that Hungary seeks to expand already existing trade relations with Turkey. At present, Hungary receives mainly hides and tobacco from Turkey in return for transportation vehicles, such as trucks and freight cars.

The August 10 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), in an article entitled "The Task of Our Foreign Trade," casts doubt upon the continued success of this expanded foreign trade activity.

"The success of our foreign trade is sadly influenced by faulty delivery due mainly to the fact that everywhere there is an effort to avoid responsibility. Management and workers must both realize that each shipment returned places grave responsibilities upon them, for these rejections are detrimental to our economy and adversely affect the prestige of our country. Various countries have returned shamefully defective goods to us, and in addition, complaints are frequent about inadequate wrapping, which in many instances has rendered goods useless upon arrival."

### Poland

Polish foreign trade treaties, concluded during the past three months, are numerous and include several with the increasingly important East. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 12, reports on the confirmation of a Polish-Chinese trade exchange:

"For some time the Chinese trade delegation remained in Warsaw. As the result of negotiations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of full understanding and friendship, the trade agreement for the current year was signed on July 11. This agreement provides that Poland

will import from China—ores, asbestos, graphites, textile raw materials, hides, grain and agricultural products, tobacco, tea, etc. and Poland will export to China: rolling stock, metal products, leads, engines, tools, chemicals, paper and other articles."

The total value of trade with China was not given. But it can be gathered from the speech of Tadeusz Gede, the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade, delivered in September of last year in Warsaw [see Vol. 1, No. 2 of NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, page 29], that Polish-Chinese trade is rapidly growing.

Still less information can be obtained on the Polish-North Korean Trade Agreement signed in Warsaw on June 2. *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), June 4, briefly stated: "On June 2, a Trade Agreement between Poland and the North-Korean People's Republic was signed."

Earlier, *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), May 19, had reported that the Korean Trade delegation arrived in Warsaw on May 19 headed by the North Korean Foreign Trade Minister, Tian-Si-U: "The delegation arrived to thank the Polish government and the Polish people for gifts sent to fighting Korea and to negotiate trade agreements between our two friendly countries."

It was announced in London the latter part of June, that on June 27, a trade agreement was signed between Poland and Pakistan in Karachi. Poland will import jute, cotton, hides, and sports articles from Pakistan and will export coal, sugar, textiles, chemicals, cement, printing paper, and metal products to Pakistan.

No information on this treaty was given in the Polish press.

*Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), June 7, dealt with Polish-Finnish relations:

"On June 6, the additional protocol to the existing Polish-Finnish trade agreement was signed in Warsaw. This protocol provides for enlarging Polish-Finnish trade turnover in 1952. During the negotiations, the problems of trade turnover and further extension of goods exchange for 1953 were also discussed."

The original trade agreement for 1952 was, as *Trybuna Ludu* of December 18 reported, signed in Warsaw on 17 December 1951. According to this agreement, Poland was to import from Finland cellulose, railway pullmans, artificial fibers, paper and oils. Export to Finland was to consist of coal, textiles, chemicals, metal products and other commodities. This agreement was modified in April [see Vol. 1, No. 5 of NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, Page 27] and the value of the total turnover was increased by 80,000,000 rubles.

The fact that those agreements were further discussed in June suggests that Polish-Finnish trade is growing in importance.

The Greek Home Service broadcast on August 22 revealed that trade talks between Greece and Poland are scheduled to start in Geneva on September 10. It is interesting to note that Poland and Greece have had no such diplomatic relations until now.

From Hamburg it was reported that a Polish-Norwegian agreement was concluded "some days ago." The agreement provides that Norway will purchase 450,000 tons of Polish coal, and that shipment be carried out between June 15, 1952 and March 31, 1953. This, in addition to new commitments to Sweden and Denmark [see Vol. 1, No. 8, of NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, Page 18].

In addition to this report, a Norwegian radio broadcast originating from Oslo on September 18, summarized:

"The Polish-Norwegian discussions held yesterday in Oslo, have led to agreement on a new coal contract. . . . The director of the Norwegian Fuel Importers reported to *Arbeiderbladet* that the agreement will supplement an earlier one. The results of the discussions about a price cut in Polish coal are satisfactory . . . and the high contracting parties will sign the agreement today. It is also expected that Norway will import more sugar, barley, and rye from Poland than under the earlier agreement."

*Pressedienst* (a publication of the Polish Military Mission to the Allied Control Commission in Germany) May 23, published news that a protocol on the trade pact was signed in Berlin on that date between Poland and the German Democratic Republic. Poland agreed to supply more coal, coke, zinc, chemical products, meat, poultry, eggs and other agricultural products. And the German Democratic Republic agreed to send more machines, chemical apparatus, optical instruments and industrial equipment.

On July 1, French authorities officially declared that they were importing butter from Czechoslovakia and Hungary and announced on July 16 the import of thousands of tons of butter from Poland.

No information on this transaction was given in the Polish press.

In July, *Wirtschaftsdienst*, the organ of the Polish Information Office in Berlin, printed an article on the coal situation in Europe. In this article, figures for Polish coal export from 1946 and 1951, not published inside Poland, are listed.

1946—14.7 million tons	1949—28.2 million tons
1947—18.5 " "	1950—28.0 " "
1948—25.6 " "	1951—28.5 " "

The same article declares that Polish coal export constituted 43 percent of the total European export of coal in 1946 and in 1947, 49 percent. It also stated that trade in coal is entirely based on the barter principle, and has the advantage over American and British coal exchanges because the buyers do not have to pay in foreign hard currency.

### Romania

Romania has also concluded an agreement with Communist China. The Agerpress Wire announced on July 30:

"An agreement was signed in Bucharest today between the RPR and the Chinese People's Republic concerning



goods exchange and payments for 1952. Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Marcel Popescu signed for Romania and Charge d'Affaires Liu Tzin-Iui signed for China. The ceremony was attended by the Minister of Foreign Trade, A. Barladeanu, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, N. Cioroiu, members of the Chinese delegation, etc.

"The RPR will export industrial equipment, electrical industry products, oil and chemical products, etc. in exchange for non-ferrous metals, chemicals, oils, ground nuts, tea, etc."

On July 30, Agerpress also disclosed:

"On August 26, two new protocols were signed in Budapest between the RPR and the Hungarian PR. They will result in a substantial increase in the exchange of goods between the two countries this year. On one hand, they augment commitments for 1952, and on the other, they enlarge the long-term agreement between the two countries signed in Bucharest on June 16, 1952.

"The protocols were signed by Mauriciu Novac, Romanian Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and Hay Laszlo, Hungarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade."

#### Albania

News of Albanian trade activities within the Soviet bloc was carried by the Albanian Telegraph Agency (Tirana) on July 28:

"Various goods have recently arrived in this country from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia. Agricultural machinery, industrial equipment, machinery labeled 'Gaz' and 'Zis', tires and spare automobile parts, medical supplies, woolens, etc. comprised the shipment from the USSR. Czechoslovakia has sent tractors labeled 'Zetor', cement, medical instruments, medicines, etc."

And in an earlier announcement on July 12, deliveries from the other Satellites were mentioned:

"Recent shipments from the USSR include combine harvesters and various other agricultural machinery, 'Zis' motor cars, tires, and medical supplies and instruments. The People's Democracies have sent trucks, transformers, paper, radio tubes, textiles, strawberries, sports equipment, and cement."

#### Trade Fairs

At least two of the captive countries have recently taken part in Trade Fairs. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), August 1, wrote: "On Saturday August 30, a six-member delegation led by the Minister of Foreign Trade, Dr. Antonin Gregor, left Prague for Bulgaria to attend the Fifteenth International Trade Fair at Plovdiv."

This was followed by a broadcast of the Prague Home Service on September 6, which said:

"A Czechoslovak delegation left Prague today for Leipzig to attend this year's Trade Fair. The delegation is headed by the Minister of Heavy Engineering, Julius Maurer, and includes the Minister of the Chemical Industry, O. Simunek, as well as a number of other government experts."

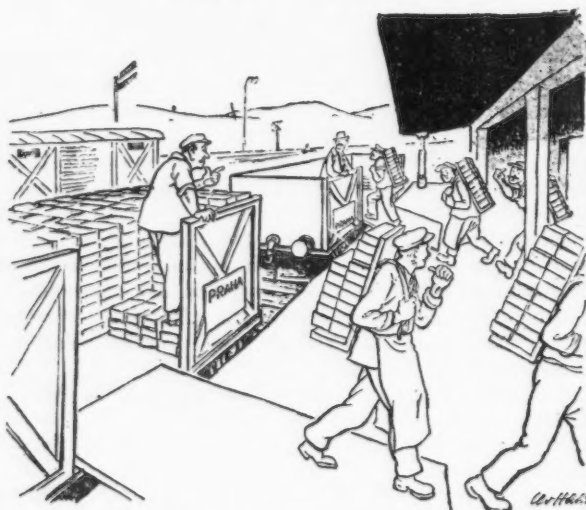
Hungary's contribution to various fairs is discussed in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) on August 23:

"The Hungarian agricultural exhibit at the Peking Fair was very successful and won the admiration and appreciation of Chinese agricultural circles for the highly developed Hungarian socialist agriculture."

The August 15 issue of the same paper boasted: "Hungary participated with a gigantic pavilion in the Bulgarian exhibition which recently opened in Plovdiv."

The August 24 issue also revealed that Hungary contributed "novel and superior" products to the International Fair at Leipzig.

## SEM - TAM



"Hey, Frank! Where did those bricks you're loading come from?"  
"From Prague. Where are the ones you're loading going to?"  
"To Prague."

From *Rude Pravo* (Prague), September 1.

#### To and Fro

In regard to the above cartoon *Rude Pravo* pointed out:

"This cartoon does not apply to bricks only. . . . An employee of PREFA national enterprise in Susice writes: 'We produce prefabricated staircases for standardized buildings. Such buildings are under construction here in Susice and we can make immediate delivery. On August 16, we shipped some staircases to Prague and discovered at the depot that similar staircases had arrived from Prague for installation in buildings, being erected in the very town where we produce them!' Another case: TEPLOTECHNA national enterprise in Hradek is shipping bricks to various places in Western Bohemia but is receiving large shipments of bricks from Prague at the same time. There are many similar cases. . . . The efforts of honest workers must not be jeopardized by careless and thoughtless planning of the production and distribution of materials."

The authorities even measure the effect of the weather by a curious yardstick. They have decided that the weather

### Extra Work

For some time Czechoslovakia has been building ships for delivery to her "great and most loyal and helpful Ally and Friend," the Soviet Union. On August 24, *Rude Pravo* described the characteristic atmosphere surrounding these deliveries and the degree to which they exact greater effort from Satellite workers:

"On Saturday [August 23], employees of the Komarno Wharves met to deliver the big passenger ship 'Rossiya' to representatives of the Soviet Union. Among those present at the festivities were L. Benada, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, V. Kuzniecov, Deputy Director of the USSR Trade Mission to the Czechoslovak Republic, P. Yerofeiev, Chairman of the Receiving Committee, and S. V. Kniazev, who represented the [Soviet] Ministry of the River Fleet.

"Benada emphasized that the workers . . . were filled with pride to have been granted the great honor of participating in such an important event as the construction of a ship for the Soviet Union. . . .

"When handing over the ship, the dock workers undertook further work pledges and accepted the challenge of the Buzuluk Plant workers to improve Plan fulfillment . . . in honor of the 35 anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution."

Another example of extra work effort for an "ally" in Czechoslovakia was reported in *Rude Pravo* on August 16:

"On August 2, comrades from People's Democratic Bulgaria visited the Steel Works at Sumperk in northern Moravia and requested, on behalf of the Bulgarian government, that the delivery date for one of their orders be set back. . . . The plant organization of the CPCZ . . . mobilized the workers. Brigade shifts were organized. As early as Saturday, August 3, four collectives started a night shift and worked through Sunday. The total target of the order was fulfilled 200 percent during the week from August 2 to 9, thus reducing delivery time . . . by five weeks."

### A New Ministry

By a government decree of July 29, the Czechoslovak Cabinet has set up a new Ministry of Railroads and reorganized the railroad system. According to the official report on the Cabinet meeting published on August 2 in *Rude Pravo*, this was done:

" . . . so that the railroads should be better able to fulfill their tasks. . . . The railroads have been taken out of the Ministry of Transport and the Commissariat of Transport, and a special Ministry of Railroads has been established for them as the highest national administrative and economic organ of the administration of the railroads. . . . The Czechoslovak State Railroads, National Enterprise, is abolished without liquidation. The property administered by this enterprise passes into the administration of the Ministry of Railroads."

This change took effect on August 1. On that day, Klement Gottwald appointed Josef Pospisil, a Communist

railroad man of long standing, to the post of Minister of Railroads. On August 3, Pospisil introduced himself in *Rude Pravo* via an article entitled "The Improvement of Railroad Transportation by Means of the Reorganization of the Railroads":

"Although a number of successes have been achieved in railroad transportation many substantial shortcomings still exist, mainly in the quality of operational work and the technology of the manufacture. . . . We have not nearly done everything possible to make full use of the vehicles and the . . . capacity of the railroad lines and installations. . . . The railroads tolerate irregularity and violation of the continuous flow of freight and passenger transportation. . . . Night shifts are not resorted to often enough for the loading and unloading of railroad freight cars. On Sundays and holidays this type of work is rarely carried out. . . . The question of the selection, placing and training of the right cadres, has not been correctly solved. . . . The individual operation units will be given far-reaching independence, which will enable their directors to develop the initiative of the workers in cooperation with the Party organization and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. . . . The railroads will be subject to the immediate direction of the State. . . . The State will divide the railroad net into 6 railroads and 19 sections. . . . One of the important aspects of the new organization is the issuance of a disciplinary regulation which binds the leading functionaries to direct and instruct the employees . . . and not only gives them the right, but directs them to punish employees who create disorder on the railroads. . . ."

## II. THE FALL HARVEST

Present Communist efforts to apply large-scale techniques to small-scale situations are in no way new, but their application to the agriculture of the various captive countries of Eastern Europe has resulted in confusion and waste.

This is acknowledged both by radio and press and blamed on "kulaks" (see Political Section), local officials, Party organizations, non-cooperation, etc., etc.—the safety valves for mismanagement.

### Failures, Pledges and Tasks

This year's crop in Hungary is exceptionally poor. According to several recent exile reports, the wheat, barley and rye crops comprise only 65-70 percent of last year's crop, and corn and potatoes only 50 percent. The August 20 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) admitted:

"Last year's crop would have been much better if the spring frosts and long drought had not hit it so hard . . . [this year] the corn, potato, beets, and fodder crop will be considerably smaller than was expected in the spring."

The authorities even measure the effect of the weather by a curious yardstick. They have decided that the weather

has affected individual farmers much more than the State farms and agricultural Cooperatives:

"The disastrous effect of the drought is not universal. Several State farms and Agricultural Cooperatives have fought adverse weather conditions with admirable ingenuity. On the whole it can be said that the bad weather affected individual farms to a much greater extent than State farms."

Whatever the conditions, the "offerings" continue. The workers of the State farm near the little town of Saribesnyo wrote a letter to their "beloved Comrade Rakosi" in which the workers make not less than 50 solemn promises. Both *Szabad Nep* August 2, and *Szabad Fold*, August 3, carried the text from which the following are extracted:

"The frost damaged half our grape crop. We promise to make up for this loss and produce 3 quintals more grapes per acre. In addition to our original quota, we promise to produce 74,000 one-year-old European vine grafts and 20,000 grafts with roots. And in the future we will make better use of our best helper, the machine, in the vineyard too. . . . The 11 liter average daily milk production will be raised to 14 liters and thus we will give our country 68,000 liters of milk in addition to our quota. Production expenses in the dairy will be lowered and thus we will have 55,000 *forints* more income. . . . Mortality among the sucklings pigs will be decreased by 1,927 in comparison to the figures for the half first of the year, and we promise to raise 1,450 pigs in addition to our quota. Thereby we shall raise our income by 186,670 *forints*. . . . We shall finish sowing 5 days and plowing two weeks before the deadline set by the Ministerial Decree," etc., etc.

The August 10 issue of the Budapest daily, *Szabad Nep* published the resolution of the Council of Ministers concerning agricultural tasks for the fall. The required collecting and harvesting time is worked out for every crop in great detail and under penalty of law:

"After the harvesting of sunflowers and corn, the stalks must be removed from the field by October 15. The harvesting of rye, hemp, string beans and peas must be completed by the end of August. By September 30, onions must be picked, the main tobacco crop harvested, alfalfa, all clover, and soy beans brought in. Hemp for seeding, panic grass and millet, as well as the second crop of fodder, must be harvested by October 10, while the cutting of the second crop of tobacco and broom-corn must be completed not later than October 20."

As a result of these strict measures, which take little cognizance of such factors as weather, the peasants, fearing a possible penalty, often harvest the crop unripe. Difficulties are most often attributed to insufficient or ineffective propaganda: "In the interest of the successful completion of all agricultural tasks set for the fall, an extensive agricultural propaganda campaign must be launched. All means of propaganda must be utilized for this purpose."

Labor competition is also urged:

"The successful conclusion of fall projects requires the

creation of large-scale labor competition. Contests must be organized by the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of State Farms and Forestation, the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization and the Association of Democratic Women of Hungary. Results achieved at these contests as well as individual challenges must receive the widest publicity."

Still another means of dealing with difficulties is the imposition of excessive penalties: "The violation of any of the agricultural measures must be prosecuted to the highest degree."

### Bulgarian Dissatisfaction

The barrage of articles appearing in the Bulgarian press point to the government's dissatisfaction with the progress of the harvest. The titles, in August alone, give a good idea of the nature of this dissatisfaction.

*Zemledelsko Zname* (Sofia), August 1, published an article entitled "The Weakness in the Deliveries of Grain Quotas in the District of Pazardjik."

On August 2, two articles: "Let Us Give the Best Grain to the State" and "The Harvesting in Bourgas Province is Far Behind Schedule."

On August 7, three articles: "For 100 Percent Threshing of the Grain Through Threshing Machines." (This article emphasized the necessity of forcing the peasants to bring all their grain to be threshed by machines where the State quotas can be immediately deducted, and to stop them from threshing it privately and in a primitive way, which allows them the possibility of hiding a part of the crop for their own needs), "Bad Labor Organizations", and "Stalin Province [Varna] is Behind Schedule in the Threshing by Combines."

On August 13: "They Do Not Use the Full Capacity of the Threshing Machines."

On August 14: "Serious Weaknesses in Threshing in the Yambol District."

*Trud* (Sofia) published the following articles:

On August 1: "For a Pitiless Battle Against the Weaknesses of the Collecting of State Deliveries", "For an Exemplary Fulfillment of the State Delivery Quotas" and "Lack of Watchfulness When Collecting the State Deliveries."

On August 5: "Threshing in Bourgas is Far Behind Schedule."

On August 10: "The Profcommittee Does Not Work on the Imposition of the Hourly Graph and the Round-the-Clock Threshing."

On August 14: "Irregularities Must Not Be Tolerated."

*Otechestven Front* (Sofia) published these articles:

On August 1: "More Efforts are Needed to Accelerate the Threshing."



On August 2: "The People's Councils in Haskovo District Must Improve Organization of the Threshing."

On August 6: "Greater Care Must be Taken for Securing the Grain in Vratza Province" and "The Threshing Must Not Continue to be Delayed."

On August 10: "Same Conditions—Different Results."

On August 13: "Threshing is Behind Schedule in Kolarovgrad Province."

*Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) followed the pattern:

On August 1: "For High Production Use of Agricultural Machinery" and "Delays in Threshing Delay the Delivery of Grain Quotas."

On August 3: "Threshing Machines are Not Used Enough."

On August 5: "Lack of Reaction to the Non-fulfillment of the Plans."

On August 7: "Managers [of the kolkhozes] Set the Bad Example."

On August 8: "Cooperation with the People Means Success" and "For a Further Development of the Agricultural Science."

On August 11: "Urgent Measures to Secure the Completion of Delivery Quotas" and "For Better Organization at the Receiving Stations." (for deliveries)

On August 12: "Urgent Measures are Necessary in Order to Accelerate and to Secure the Deliveries of Grain."

On August 14: "Urgent Problems in Our Agricultural Economy."

Even the organ of the youth organization, *Navodna Mladej* (Sofia), wrote about the government's concern over the crop:

On August 2: "... the Importance of the State Delivery Quotas" and "Full Blast for Round-the-Clock Threshing."

On August 3: "The Threshing Machines are Idle."

On August 5: "Threshing in the Region of the General Toshevo Mts. Must be Improved."

On August 6: "The Committee of the Youth Organization in Biala Does Not Work to Promote Hourly-graph Threshing."

On August 12: "They are Far Behind Schedule in Threshing."

On August 14: "For a Round-the-Clock Threshing, for Timely Delivery of the State Quotas."

### Crop Failures and Spring Frost

Czechoslovakia, like most of her fellow members in the Soviet bloc, has suffered from the spring frost, and the resulting crop failures have brought about the same attacks against local management and the "kulaks" (See Vol. 1, No. 9 of NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, Page 25). *Rude Pravo* (Prague), August 14, listed some of the many complaints:

"Gathering, threshing, and bulk-buying of bread grains has been lagging. . . . An old, entirely false, and damaging opinion is still current and being backed by the village rich. It asserts that although it is necessary to cut on time, there is always plenty of time for carting corn to the sheds and for threshing. Only in a very few places has night threshing been organized. Many Tractor and Machinery Stations have not repaired threshing machines in time and they cannot be fully exploited. . . . In the Brno region, the total capacity of the threshing machines was exploited only 22 percent. . . . In the Budejovice region, only 16 percent of the planned acreage has been ploughed in spite of the fact that nearly the whole harvest of rye and wheat has already been cut. In the Liberec region, only 11 percent of the stubble fields have been ploughed. At the same time, 65 caterpillar tractors were not exploited. . . . These serious shortcomings in the bread grain harvest and in insuring the next rich harvest have to be remedied as soon as possible. The organizing secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Minister of Agriculture, Nepomucky, asked last week that all functionaries of national committees and regional committees of the Party, committees of all basic organizations, all members of the Party, and all those who work in agriculture, step up their efforts to bring the harvest to a successful conclusion. . . ."

*Rude Pravo*, on August 27, placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Communist organizations which have lagged behind badly, particularly in the bulk-buying of bread grains.

"The reason for unsatisfactory bulk-buying in the Milevsko region is due to the slow removal of crops from the fields and to slow threshing. The threshing machines . . . have been badly distributed. In some villages they abound, whereas in other places they are all too scarce. And this circumstance has been exploited by the village rich who have never hurried with their own threshing and do not hurry now. . . . The Unified Agricultural Cooperative in Kostelec threshed and delivered wheat for the village rich Kazimour of Hrejovice. The kulaks still have their stacks of wheat in the fields, the very wheat from which they have to make the largest deliveries. . . . The comrades of the regional committee of the Party wrongly interpreted a directive telling them that they should not replace economic functionaries and as a result did not lead the Communists in the drive for safeguarding quick bulk-buying. Therefore, the bulk-buying has not become a matter for village organizations but has been handled by the National Committees. . . ."

The peasants have been trying to save at least a portion of the harvest for themselves. Therefore, resistance is wide-spread. *Zemedelske Noviny* (Prague), August 22, wrote:

"The bulk-buying enterprise in Vysoke Myto is lagging behind with its deliveries this year. . . . The kulaks, Stanislav Kucera, Jaroslav Syrový, and a kulak woman, Koprivova, in Sedlec, did not deliver an ounce of bread grain until August 7, although they had their own threshing machines. The Local National Commit-

tee intended to safeguard the threshing of the kulak-woman Koprivova. She, however, after having reached an agreement with the rest of the village rich, has refused any farm-help and has been holding up the threshing. Thus the kulaks do not even keep to the threshing plan. . . ."

### Polish Harvest

The failures exposed in most of the other captive countries do not seem to apply to Poland. During June, July and the first part of August, an intensive harvesting campaign was carried on by the Polish press. Weather conditions were favorable, and by the middle of August, the harvests were ended. *Zycie Gospodarcze* (Warsaw), August 11, summarized the results of the campaign as follows:

"The harvest has ended throughout the country with the exception of the northwestern provinces, where it was begun a bit later. On the average, the yields are better than they were last year. The best results were achieved by those districts and provinces which during the last year were leading in the sowing campaign."

No exact figures have been given as yet, but *Pressedienst*, published by the Polish Military Mission in Berlin, stated on August 15:

"The yields are estimated as 15 to 20 percent higher than they were in 1951. Thanks to the participation of voluntary workers, the harvesting campaign was ended 8 to 14 days earlier than was planned. . . . Improved yields were achieved thanks to the greater use of artificial manure and the extension of mechanization. . . ."

The harvests were hardly ended when the campaign for obligatory grain deliveries, for which the government was well prepared, was started.

On July 21, a law on the obligatory deliveries of grain was passed by the Sejm. *Dziennik Ustaw* (Journal of Law) No. 32; gives the details of this law which covers individual holdings, Agriculture Cooperatives, State farms and other nationalized holdings (Article 2).

Under the delivery plan, the following crops have to be supplied: rye, wheat, barley, oats and other grains (Article 3). Time delivery is established as from July 16, 1952 to July 15, 1953. The general norms for delivery are to be established by a special decree of the Council of Ministers and norms for individual holdings by the national village councils. The Central Contracts and Grain Purchasing Office will supervise the whole plan (Article 5 and 6). The law provides for some exemptions: holdings below one hectare are free from deliveries; holdings below 2 hectares are also free, provided that the owner is above 60 years of age, has no children above 14 years of age or is disabled; holdings up to 3 hectares are also free from grain deliveries, if the owner is a fisherman who works in a socialized fishing enterprise (Chapter 3). The law further provides that all who fail to fulfill the delivery norms are subject to 3,000 *zlotys* fine or imprisonment of up to 3 years in the case of a deliberate attempt to frustrate the provisions of the law (Chapter 5).

The executive ordinance to this law provides for the division of private agricultural holdings into groups according to the size of the holdings and for the application of progressive increases. According to a table given in the above mentioned ordinance, larger holdings are obliged to provide 3 to 4 times as much grain per hectare as the small ones and the Agriculture Cooperatives have to deliver 20 percent less than the individual peasants. Norms are calculated by dividing the area of each cooperative by the number of members.

### "... There Are Serious Shortcomings"

Everything, however, is not going smoothly. *Trybuna Ludu*, August 13, complained:

"In spite of the fact that the campaign for grain delivery grows daily . . . the full mobilization of the villages has not taken place. In many places there are serious shortcomings. Often the norms are fictitious and the kulaks have been allotted smaller delivery norms than the law provides."

Official Polish sources do not give the prices paid for compulsory grain deliveries. But during the Seventh Plenum of the United Workers' Party, which took place in June 1952, Boleslaw Bierut revealed that prices paid for grain delivered within the framework of obligatory grain quotas are lower than those paid on the free market. An exile reports, for example, that the price paid by the State for one quintal of rye is 65 *zlotys*, while the free market price is 125 *zlotys*, a fact which sheds serious doubt upon the government's claim that peasants are fulfilling their duties toward the State with enthusiasm.

In July, *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw) published an article by Jerzy Tepicht, the director of the Institute of Agrarian Economy, in which he stated:

"State deliveries take 41.2 percent of total production of marketable grain, contracts (which are also a form of State deliveries) take 32.4 percent and free market sales only 26.4 percent. Individual peasants delivered 76.8 percent, State Farms 15.3 percent, Agriculture Cooperatives 6.1 percent, and other socialized forms of agriculture 1.8 percent of the total grain obligations."

### Lack of Coordination

In Latvia, the press and radio have been criticizing the crop collection and the general lack of coordination between the machine pools and the kolkhozes.

On August 6, *Cina* (Riga) published the following criticism:

"... It cannot be said that all districts are making the necessary preparations for this great and important time in the life of our kolkhozes. On August 1, the plan for repairing combines in the Riga district was not accomplished. In Aluksne, Limbazi, Madona, Eleja, Cesvaine and other districts, the kolkhozes have repaired only 51-59 percent of their mowing machines. The crop-sorting machines, drying equipment and warehouses have not been put in order. . . ."

On August 7, *Sovetskaja Latvija* (Riga) disclosed deficiencies in the gathering of crops:

"Crops are ripe on the kolkhoz' fields. The Red Flame kolkhoz as well as others, such as *Sovetskaja Latvija*, New Life and Chakalov, could start bringing in crops, but throughout the entire district only 80 hectares have been moved. No attention is being paid to crops which are too ripe to last more than a few more weeks in the field. . . . Conditions on the Lenin kolkhoz are no better. Rye and wheat fields are ripe, but the combines and other machines are not repaired yet. . . . Other facts also prove that preparatory work has not been given proper attention. . . . Several combines have remained unrepaired since they were used last fall. In the Kraslava district, only 69 of 98 available mowing machines are in working condition—in the Indra district, only 100 of 136 can be used. . . ."

And Deputy Agricultural Minister, Vanags, openly declared in a speech over Radio Riga on August 10, that "pastures are not particularly good this year and every straw must be salvaged."

Orders have also been issued to the harvesters of corn to gather every sheaf and ear. This order was issued by the agronomist, Schilow, who further directed that it is not enough for each kolkhoz worker to fulfill his norms, but he must exceed them as much as possible. How this is done was explained by a farmer named Mutulis in a Radio Riga broadcast: "From five to ten in the morning I tend to the equipment and to the machinery. From ten until eleven at night, I mow." Even children are used in this drive. A 10-year-old pioneer, Velta Krumina, from the Rainis kolkhoz in the Saulkrasti district, is actively participating in the harvesting and is being praised as one of the Socialist "labor heroines."

To prevent a recurrence of the late deliveries and waste that took place in 1951: "Each load from the combines and threshing machines is to be registered faithfully. Special guards are to be placed in the fields to prevent thefts. Similar guards are to control the threshing and state deliveries." "This," says Central Committee Secretary Tchernischew, "is to be carefully organized and the guards should be chosen from among reliable workers."

### Disorganization in Albania

According to a Radio Tirana broadcast on August 25:

"The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party stated that during the spring sowing campaign, the following mistakes were unmasked:

"The Party and State organs in many districts, above all in Berat, Lushnje, Vlore, and the Lakacum, Dukat, and Sukth agricultural enterprises, have not properly carried out the spring sowing campaign, and have not taken organizational and agro-technical measures to overcome the obstacles caused by the summer drought for protecting soil, organizing collective work, and exploiting power. . . . Some districts have not organized their political work and competitions well, have not selected proper staffs, and have not applied proper

methods. . . . Agricultural propaganda has been weak from the top organizations down to the district. . . . Lack of organization has been noticed in the exploitation of tractors, agricultural machinery, and animals, by the Tractor Stations, agricultural machinery stations, agricultural enterprises, and individual and collective enterprises. . . ."

*Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), August 12, reports that " . . . hay-making has reached the final stage in the majority of kolkhozes," and publishes a table of Plan fulfillment as of August 10:

Name of Oblast	Natural	Cultivated
	Hay Mowed	Hay Mowed
Tartu	86%	92%
Tallinn	85%	88%
Parnu	78%	92%

However, the August 7 edition of the same newspaper printed a statement which questions the accuracy of such figures: "In many kolkhozes the amount of hay has been estimated by sight. . . ."

### Anti-Kolkhoz Elements

In its editorial of August 1, the Lithuanian daily *Tiesa*, organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party published in Vilnius, said:

"There were attempts to plunder yields of kolkhozes in several districts last year. The kulaks and their henchmen, seeking to ruin the kolkhozes, tried every method to steal the bread of the kolkhozes. Such amateur plunderers were punished with all the severity of Soviet law. Nevertheless, anti-kolkhoz elements succeeded in inflicting losses where vigilance was insufficient.

"There are more Party and Communist Youth Organizations in the kolkhozes now, and the leaders of kolkhozes have more experience and a better knowledge of organization. Therefore, there is greater confidence that kolkhozes will gather crops in a more organized and orderly way. However, it would be completely unbolshhevistic to relax now. On the contrary, it is necessary to increase our vigilance tirelessly.

"Not all our conclusions are drawn from the faults of the past year. Look, for instance, at the districts of Vilnius and Varena, where this year the anti-kolkhoz elements have already tried to plunder the yields of the kolkhozes. . . ."

"The harvesting must be better organized. The quicker and more orderly the harvesting, the less opportunity for criminals to steal kolkhoz property. . . . The use of machines allows us to struggle more successfully against these attempts. That is why the enemies of the kolkhoz system make every effort to turn members of the kolkhozes against the use of machines. The instigators of the anti-mechanization spirit must be unmasked and the use of machines for harvesting must be extended."

Another editorial on August 13, entitled "Bread for the State!" is a reminder of the necessity to watch the crop and to deliver it immediately to the State: "The new crop is not to be left unguarded from the time it is reaped until



it is delivered to the warehouses of the State or those of the kolkhozes. Crops to be especially watched are those still not registered, because it is just those which the destroyers of kolkhozes desire to plunder most."

The Communist press never mentions the rate of deliveries to the State, but some information is given in the same issue of *Tiesa* which suggests that about half of the crop is sent to the government:

"Twenty tons of rye have already been threshed here (Vaga kolkhoze, district of Kalvarija). About ten tons were delivered to the state. . . . Communist A. Bagdonas, combine operator of the Rudamina MTS [Machine Tractor Station] has already reaped 60 hectares. From 16 to 17 centners [1 centner = 50 kilograms] of grain were threshed from one hectare. More than 30 tons [30,000 kilograms] of grain of the best quality were delivered to the collecting station."

The yield from 60 hectares was about 50,000 kg. from which 30,000 kg. of the best quality grain were delivered.

It is to be noted that some fields in Lithuania are not suitable for the use of harvesting machines, especially combines, because of stones and the unevenness of the fields. One cannot go through such a field with a big machine. This is no doubt the main reason why members of kolkhozes in some places are reluctant concerning mechanization and why the machines, after failing on such fields, remain in disuse and disrepair. However, Party bureaucrats see only the "anti-mechanization spirit spread by the enemies of kolkhozes" in this reasonable reluctance.

### III. THE LABOR PROBLEM

The growing problem in the Satellite countries of finding enough skilled workers to man the machines has resulted in further attempts to create a highly-trained and controlled labor force. A new emphasis has been placed upon technical schools. And the Trade Unions are used both as channels of enforcement and as scapegoats. In fact, they are rapidly assuming the role they themselves once reserved for management.

Following a "recommendation" of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, a decree providing for the 'setting up of State man-power reserves' was passed on August 5. In the preamble to the decree, the government stated that 'the main source for replenishing cadres of qualified workers, necessary for the development of our economy, is youth'.

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), August 8, evaluated the decree in a leading article:

"The 245 leading centers of the working youth will be transformed into schooling institutions for manpower reserves which will educate 80,000 skilled workers for the smelting and rolling mills, and the mining, oil, engineering, chemical, metallurgical, building and wood-working industries, as well as for water and railroad transport, power plants, telecommunications and poly-

graphy. . . . This year's budget sets aside 1,282,757,000 *koruny* for vocational schooling and two billion *koruny* for schooling institutions and their boarding-houses."

The Central Council of the Trade Unions issued a directive on August 13 which is meant to implement the above-mentioned decree:

"The Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions directs herewith that all functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement endeavor to the utmost to build up State manpower reserves. All organizations of the Central Council will discuss this directive and will employ every means to make clear its importance for every member of the movement. The work-councils will furnish all the necessary help in setting-up any work-shops needed by the new institutions and in equipping them with modern technical machinery. They will also assist in the selection of educational workers, and expert teachers."

The task of these institutions is to extend the use of new working methods and to introduce into heavy industry not only additional skilled men, but women also. In this connection *Rovnost* (Brno), August 26, wrote:

"The working class youth center, Tylex, in Letovice has already belonged among the best for several years. Every apprentice works about 60 hours in brigades with the local Unified Agricultural Cooperative and in the plant. . . . Above all, the center has lately been educating young girls in machine operating. . . . Thus, more and more girls are beginning to work in fields which until now used to be the sole privilege of men."

And on August 21, the same organization issued the following decree which appeared in *Rudo Pravo* (Prague), August 22:

"The basic schooling of new functionaries has suffered from many shortcomings so far. To eliminate these, the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions orders all organizations to establish during this fall a steady system of basic training of new functionaries [for which] every work council will be [locally] responsible. . . . The work-council director will detail the most advanced functionary to head the center and its teachers will be chosen from among the best functionaries. [They] will then plan the courses through which, in the course of one school year, all those functionaries who have not already gone through this schooling will have to pass. Work councils in the smaller plants will ensure that their functionaries attend the courses in those centers to be set up by higher trade union organs, principally by the regional committees. This daily schooling will normally be carried out once a week and always after working hours. The basis of every lesson will consist of a one-hour lecture, after which a discussion will take place."

Teachers will be selected from among enthusiastic Party members: "Work councils will always submit their lists of names of prospective teachers to KVS or UVS. Those to be selected must be proved enthusiastic in their attachment to the Party and to the People's Democratic institutions."

Nevertheless, those who have already completed similar courses do not seem to be showing any enthusiasm for this type of unionist work. A leading secretary in the regional Trade Union Council in Usti n.L. complained on July 24 as published in *Rude Pravo*, June 26:

"Recently 827 comrades were trained and passed in the trade unionist school in Trebivlice. The schooling of one pupil cost 15,000 *koruny* monthly. The total expense amounts to 12,405,000 *koruny*. The federation type of schools have, so far, trained 655 pupils. The training of one pupil costs 22,000 *koruny*, the total expense being 14,410,000 *koruny*. Altogether, the training of 1,482 comrades has cost 26,815,000 *koruny*. Of these trained comrades, only one-third work and help with trade unionist work and with making a reality of trade unionist policy. Two-thirds of these comrades, however, have not been given functions and thus their contribution to trade unionist work is non-existent."

### Bulgarian Schools

*Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), August 7, published information concerning the preparation of labor reserve schools in Bulgaria:

"On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, labor reserve training schools were established in the Soviet Union during 1940. This year, labor reserve schools patterned after those in the Soviet Union have been set up in our country. A General Labor Administration has been organized under the Council of Ministers to direct training. . . . A resolution of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party was voted to reorganize some schools and open new ones, primarily the metallurgical industry and town-building schools. . . . There are great opportunities for youths in the labor reserves' training schools. Those who complete the course . . . will be immediately engaged in productive work in their specialty. . . . DUPY [Communist Youth Organization] groups are faced with important and responsible problems. . . . The schools will enroll youths who have completed the fourth and seventh classes. Explanatory work must be carried on among the students about the opportunities offered by the . . . schools. . . . The number of students for the bread producing, mining, and ceramic schools is very small. The number of female candidates is also small. DUPY organizations must concentrate their efforts on the correct orientation and allotment of the youths in these schools. . . ."

### "... Without Ever Touching a Machine"

*Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), July 29, described conditions in one of the technical schools in Kolarovgrad:

"With great joy the citizens of Kolarovgrad greeted the opening of the mechano-technical school. The young people were especially enthusiastic. This year, over 200 youths enrolled in this school. The school year was a difficult one. There was a lack of necessary machines, tools and materials needed for practical exercises. The Ministry of Education kept making promises, but nothing was done. . . . The second school year was begun

[and] teachers and instructors in the technical specialties doubled their efforts, lecturing and drawing sketches of the tools and machines studied by the students, [but] the materials sent by the Ministry did not correspond to the needs of the school. Thus, the first students of the mechano-technical school in Kolarovgrad graduated from the school without ever touching a machine or tool. . . . It is feared that the next graduates of the mechano-technical school will not be able to differentiate between various machines and apparatus. . . . Then Kolarovgrad will become famous for its special category of 'technicians'."

A recent number of the Polish bi-monthly *Zycie Gospodarcze* (The Economic Life) No. 12, 1952, published in Warsaw, revealed:

"The Stakhanovite schools of the Soviet Union constitute the models for the increasing number of schools for work leaders arising in Poland. The dissemination of speed-up work methods is the aim of this Stakhanovist schooling. . . ."

The news of the opening of Stakhanovite schools in Poland, hitherto called "schools for work leaders," is the first such announcement from Warsaw. Primarily these schools have been organized near industrial establishments which failed to fulfill their production plans for 1951. Governmental pressure for the rapid organization of such schools was recently directed at those industries which failed to fulfill the Plan in the first quarter of this year and which continue to lag behind.

And in Albania, *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), August 15, admonished:

"Up to now we have had sad experiences . . . because our equipment has been operated by workers who were not trained, who damaged machines and impeded fulfillment of the State Plan. . . . The lack of skilled cadres has compelled us to use young men straight from the villages. . . . Because of this lack, specialization courses in all lines have been proposed for workers under the direction of the local organizations of the Party. . . . This duty must be considered as most urgent because the disproportion between the meager knowledge of our best workers and the very new machinery cannot continue. . . ."

### "We Have Not Moved Forward . . ."

*Glos Pracy* (organ of the Polish trade unions) in the July 30 and 31 numbers described the proceedings of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions, which took place in Warsaw on June 29 and 31. The future tasks of the unions were discussed and severe criticism of the unions' past record was voiced. Great attention was also paid to the question of non-fulfillment of norms.

Wiktor Klosiewicz, a chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, complained:

"We have not moved forward in this field and indeed in many respects we have moved backward. It is necessary to state that Trade Unions do not pay enough attention to the question of the normalization of work."

The inefficient development of Socialist competition was also criticized:

"In the textile industry the number of workers who have been trained in the Kovalov method of competition does not exceed 5 percent of the total number of workers participating in the movement. In the mining industry, where the struggle for rotating production is going on, the competition has risen only one-half percent during the year."

Blame for these failures was placed squarely upon the regional leaders, who were accused of neglecting the well-being of the workers:

"The indifference to the well-being of the workers is responsible for the great labor turnover. . . . Workers are not supplied with the articles of everyday use. There were cases during April where bread was not supplied. . . . Women, recruited to work from the Lask district, went to the building management No. 2 in Chorzow but the question of their billeting was not solved. They were sent from place to place and nobody took care of them. Many other examples testify that, in spite of some improvements in workers' hostels, the situation is still far from satisfactory and very often scandalous. . . ."

#### "Right to Work" Clause

In Romania, on August 17, Radio Bucharest hailed the "right to work" clause in the Draft Constitution (published on July 18):

"The Draft Constitution of the Romanian People's Republic proclaims work a question of both duty and honor. The right to work is the greatest privilege of our people, and it is not only recorded in the Draft Constitution but is insured in practice. In this respect, things are quite different in the capitalist countries, particularly the USA. The US Constitution does not even mention the right to work. . . . In the USA, unemployment during the past few weeks has affected as much as one third of the total labor force. Over 5.5 million Americans have no income whatsoever and 13 percent of the working population earn no more than \$500 per year. . . . The position of farm workers and small farmers is not much better: the former are forced to work from dawn to dusk on the estates of big landlords; small farmers, reduced to penury, are forced to beg in the streets. . . . Exploitation is rampant throughout the American rural areas. . . . The Romanian Draft Constitution insures the right to education as well as the right to work. No such thing exists in the USA; 85 percent of the children have no opportunity to go to school. . . . Instead of going to school, American children are directed to work in the factories where they are forced to work as many as 12 to 14 hours a day for wages far below standard. Now the US administration is about to introduce a system of forced labor for American youths exactly as practiced in Hitlerite Germany. And no wonder, since the American Constitution does not guarantee any rights for the working people. . . ."

Everyone has the "right to work," but is it the right to work at whatever he chooses? Disguised compulsory labor

is provided for in the 1950 Labor Code, Chapter XV, Article III (published in the Official Bulletin No. 50 of June 8, 1950), under the title "Temporary Labor Duties":

"The citizens of the RPR, under exceptional circumstances, in order to avoid any catastrophe, or to cover the lack of manpower necessary for the achievement of some important public work, may be required to carry out some temporary duties. Such a temporary order, will be issued by the Council of Ministers in a special decision."

In the agricultural field, labor manpower is restricted in its mobility. For instance, in the Joint Resolution of the Central Council of the Party and the Council of Ministers on "strengthening the economic organization of collective farms" (Official Bulletin No. 28 of March 21, 1951), the following was pointed out:

"It is called to the attention of all Party and Government agencies that it is not permissible to move members of collective farms and to send them to work on other projects without the approval of the General Meeting of the collective farms upon the suggestion of the Ministry of Agriculture."

It may be inferred from this that collective farmers may be sent away to perform any other works, irrespective of their wishes, upon the suggestion of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Industry also has a job freeze. An employee may not leave his work without the approval of the chief of the working unit, or of the Board of Labor Disputes (Decree No. 207, published in the Official Bulletin of November 21, 1951) and may be transferred from one unit to another regardless of his wishes. Non-obedience means imprisonment.

Decree No. 68 (published in the Official Bulletin of May 18, 1951) provides for the annual draft of 45,000 to 55,000 "young workers" to be trained for two or three years in vocational schools, or a six-month training course at the place of work. Graduates of such schools (called "Labor Reserves") are assigned to various works according to a plan approved by the government and must "spend at least 4 years at the enterprises to which they have been assigned" (Art. 6 of said law).

#### IV. THE ALBANIAN FIVE YEAR PLAN

The Deputy Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, Spiro Koleka, recently submitted a report on the first Five Year Plan to an Extraordinary Session of the People's Assembly which included diplomats from the Soviet bloc countries—notably the Minister Plenipotentiary to Albania from the USSR, Klement Danilovitch Levychin—as well as State officials and members of the press.

Radio Tirana broadcast the entire report from which the following highlights have been taken:

"The extent of Albania's development can be gauged from the volume of investments and production, and the national revenue provided for by the Plan. Total investments will reach 21,000,000,000 *leks* in 1955, twice that



for the period 1946 to 1950. Agricultural and industrial production in 1955 will be valued at 19,000,000,000 *leks* as compared with 8,000,000,000 in 1950, or 426 percent more than before the war. The average annual increase in industrial and agricultural production will be 19 percent. National revenue will total 19,000,000,000 *leks* in 1955, based on 1947 prices, as against 9,200,000,000 *leks* in 1950, a more than two-fold increase."

Koleka then gave comparative figures for the value of production in different fields for 1950 and 1955, with the percentage increases (given below in parentheses). Industrial production will supposedly show a 27.7 percent annual increase during the five year period, as against a 10.5 percent increase during the 1949-1952 period. Other figures (in *leks* unless otherwise stated) were given as follows:

	1950	1955	%
General industrial production (based on 1950 prices)	3,266,000,000	11,100,000,000	(339)
Production potential	761,000,000	2,921,000,000	(386)
Mining output	452,000,000	1,352,000,000	(306)
Crude oil production (in tons)	131,500	263,000	(200)
Electric power production (in kw.)	21,000,000	121,000,000	(573)
Cement production (in tons)	15,000	58,000	(365)
Plywood (in sq.m.)	—	40,000	—
Consumer goods	2,500,000,000	8,131,000,000	(325)
Food Industry output	349,000,000	2,045,000,000	(604)
Sugar production (in tons)	610	11,000	(1,803)
Washing soap production (in tons)	950	3,700	(336)
Textile and wool production (in metres)	1,100,000	21,000,500	(1,886)
Footwear production	272,000	598,000	(220)

He stated that in the oil and mine industries, "measures will be taken to offer workers better living conditions, assist them in their professional training, increase their labor productivity, and help them to adopt new techniques. The Department of Mines will ensure a reserve for several years ahead. . . . Great care must be exercised in the use of machinery and tools, and production methods must be applied correctly."

"Agricultural production will be increased by about 11 percent during the Five Year Plan. This will be achieved by producing larger yields per hectare rather than by increasing the area under cultivation. One of the greatest problems of the country's economy is the production of bread grain and industrial seeds for factories and combines. Production of wheat in 1950 was 9.7 cwt.; this will be increased to 11.5 cwt. in 1955. Estimated production increases in cwt. per hectare for other crops were given as: corn—8.8 to 12.5 (42 percent); rice—17.6 to 25; cotton—4.4 to 8 (81.8 percent); sugar

beet—45.1 to 200 (343.4 percent); tobacco—3.8 to 7 (96 percent); potatoes—72.2 to 100 (38.5 percent). The agricultural area, 169,000 ha. in 1950, will be increased to 284,700 ha. in 1955, an increase of 55.7 percent. The area sown with industrial seeds will increase from 31,000 ha. to 46,000 (47 percent), rice cultivation from 12,000 ha. to 15,700 (38 percent), and pasture land from 18,000 to 30,500 ha. (114 percent). All peasants should make maximum use of agricultural machinery . . . more than 500 tractors and other machines will be imported during the five-year period. If the quality of local seed is poor, imports from the Soviet Union will be arranged.

"The volume of local industry should show an increase of 428 percent in 1955 as compared with 1950—17.85 percent of the total volume of all mining, handicraft and other industries. Local industry is to be developed at an annual increase rate of 35.6 percent. Only 11 districts had shown marked progress in this direction by the end of 1950."

The Minister then gave investment fund statistics for various industries, comparing 1946-1950 allocations with those provided for by the Five Year Plan, with percentage increases (given here in parentheses):

	1946-1950 (in <i>leks</i> )	1950-1955 (in <i>leks</i> )	%
Mining Industry	2,136,000,000	8,943,000,000	(418.6)
Agriculture	960,000,000	2,820,000,000	(293.4)
Transport	2,410,000,000	3,002,000,000	(124.4)
Social welfare	780,000,000	3,460,000,000	(443.5)
State purchasing	586,000,000	2,770,000,000	(506.9)

This makes a total investment of 21,000,000,000 *leks* for the Five Year Plan, or an increase of 206.9 percent over the 1946-1950 figure. Discussing individual investments Koleka stated that the mining industry accounted for 42.7 percent of total investments under the Five Year Plan and that this was the most important factor in the construction of Socialism. "Investments in local industry amount to 2,960,000,000 *leks*, or 14.2 percent of the total investments of the whole Plan. This is to be divided as follows: local industry—2,200,000 *leks* increasing to 12,254,000 *leks*; communal economy—87,200,000 *leks* increasing to 874,000,000 *leks*. . . . The total investment for the 26 agricultural districts is 440,300,000 *leks* of which 324,900,000 are slated for land improvement, and 157,600,000 for irrigation—74 percent of local investments".

He further revealed that: "Great attention is being given to the discovery of new mineral deposits such as iron, chromium, copper, and oil. Electric energy output will represent a four-fold increase over present output. . . . The clothing industry will be developed. . . . There will be 83,000 ha. of land under irrigation by 1955 as compared with 39,000 in 1950. . . . Large funds will be allocated for extending the railway system. . . . Total earnings of workers and State employees in 1955 will be 215 percent higher. Workers' average wages will show an increase of 23 percent, and employees' salaries an increase of eight percent."

# The Collective Life

## I. EDUCATION FOR THE NEW ORDER

**T**HE opening of the new academic year in captive Europe was celebrated with major addresses by the various Ministers of Education and editorials in the Satellite press. The goal for 1952-1953 is to mold soldiers for Socialism and builders of the "New Order." This is to be accomplished by accustoming children to the collective life at an early age and perfecting educational techniques and subject matter to embody Marxist-Leninism in its purest form. All remnants of bourgeois philosophy must be stamped out and relentless hatred of the enemy cultivated.

### Accolade for Peace Fighters

In Poland the official school year opened on September 1. The eve was celebrated by torch-lit parades, a new Communist "ultra-patriotic" manifestation. What once was a nonpolitical demonstration provided an opportunity for the assembled youth to hear Witold Jarosinski, the Minister of Education, give an address on Radio Warsaw:

"This summer the whole nation went through events of great importance which you will learn about in the schools—not only you, but all coming generations.

"On July 22 our Constitution, that great guarantee of freedom for our nation, was ratified. This Constitution is a magnificent charter of the working people's laws and achievements after centuries of struggle against exploitation and wrong.

"To be a pupil in the schools of the Polish People's Republic also means that one is a soldier in the great Army which is fighting for peace on earth, a fighter for

progress and a person of honest work. It means that you know how to behave . . . anywhere that your organization [ZMP, or scout]\* and your school may be proud of you. Then your parents, teachers and colleagues will respect you . . . and the whole country will rejoice in the knowledge that you are maturing every day. The Government and Party, shielding you with their protection and solicitude, wish to be assured of a growing generation of young builders of the New Order. . . .

"Look at the people of the Soviet Union who are erecting the greatest buildings in the world, creating new seas, changing the course of rivers, transforming nature. These great achievements, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind, are possible in the Soviet Union because it leads the world in scientific achievements and is a country of victorious Socialism. [The Soviet] is a wonderful heroic country which loves its Socialist youth. This youth, brought up in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin, should serve as a model for you."

### The Good with the Bad

In Hungary, Minister of Education, Joseph Darvas, stressed that last year "had brought about considerable development in public education," but added the following:

" . . . there are many teachers who do not yet comprehend the changed nature of educational work. Hungarian educators must raise the level of their political

\* Party organizations for Polish school children include the Communized scout associations for children under 15, while ZMP, the Polish Youth Association, carries them through higher education and also enlists young workers. Membership in these organizations makes ultimate Party membership easier to obtain.

orientation . . . in the forthcoming schoolyear we must see that our educational efforts develop in our youth a feeling of true patriotism, bold steadfastness, consciousness of proletarian internationalism and relentless hatred for the enemy. We must devote serious attention to reinforcing labor discipline among teachers and youth organizations [pioneers for children up to 14 and the DISZ for the older ones]. Study discipline must also be improved and special attention should be paid to the progress of pupils of worker and peasant origin."

On the credit side Minister Darvas emphasized last year's successes, which included a total of 82,200 graduates from the general schools, instead of an expected 79,500. According to additional statistics, Hungary with its population of over 9 million has 1,207,000 students enrolled in general schools and 125,000 in high schools. The Budapest daily, *Magyar Nemzet*, which printed the speech in full, also added a few explanatory details as to what the Minister of Education meant by his remarks on "relentless hatred for the enemy."

"We must foster hatred for the enemy in our children by pointing out its destructive activities, by unmasking the beastly face of the imperialists and by unveiling the anti-social activity of the right-wing Social Democrats and clerical reactionaries. School principals and educators must take firm and determined steps to eradicate the cynical and undisciplined manifestations of cosmopolitanism and nationalism which have recently cropped up in our schools."

"The results achieved last year are due mainly to the fact that teachers drew more liberally on the Soviet's extensive experiences. There are many indications of political development among educators. This has been confirmed by the intensified study of Marxist-Leninist works as well as the re-evaluation of many subjects in the light of Marxist-Leninist ideology."

### "Depraved Habits" Remain

The Bulgarian Minister of Education, Dimitur Yaneff, censured a lack of "political intensity" which has become manifest in a number of Bulgarian schools and cautioned teachers on certain shortcomings. Excerpts from his article in *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), September 1, follow:

"The scholastic standing of our schools is still unsatisfactory. Especially poor results have been observed in the basic school subjects, Bulgarian, Mathematics, and Russian. Instruction on scientific subjects is at a very low ideological and theoretical level. Many shortcomings have permeated the field of Communist education. . . . The depraved habits of the bourgeois school have not been completely eliminated."

"Many subjects are not taught with sufficient political intensity. . . . We must find the main reasons for the drawbacks of our school system . . . and for the unsatisfactory work of many teachers who lack the necessary ideological, political, scientific and pedagogical training. . . ."

"The Ministry of Public Education and the nation's teachers must do their utmost to instruct and explain their subjects according to the doctrines of Stalin, Michurin and Pavlov. . . . It is of paramount impor-

tance that the Soviet pedagogical experience be regularly and systematically studied."

### Cocoons Instead of Students

The Bulgarian Council of Ministers issued a special decree in June 1952 which also pointed out the faults of the preceding year and called for their eradication. As published in *Troud* (Sofia), June 14, the decree said:

"The Minister of Education, District Executive Committees, County and Local People's Councils' collaboration with the Fatherland Front, Trade and other Youth Organizations\* must take the necessary measures for the full attainment of compulsory education. . . . Beginning January 1, 1953, an Institute for the improvement of teaching cadres should be set up in Sofia. . . . Educational work must be closely tied in with the building of Socialism. . . ."

"The Executive Committees of the District, County, City and Village . . . must organize by August 20, 1952 for the repair of all school buildings and fencing off of all school yards. They must take measures for vacating by July 10, 1952 of all school buildings which are occupied for other purposes. . . ."

Despite the preceding stipulations, additional news reports indicate that certain school houses were occupied by campers, while others were used by cooperative farms and one particularly offensive school was criticized for storing silk cocoons. The manpower shortage as well as a lack of bricks, iron and beams was cited as a major impediment to the school building program.

### "Hostile Elements" versus "Advanced Methods"

As early as the middle of July, *Scanteia* of Bucharest carried an editorial on preparedness for the new school year. The editorial which repeated many of the points of a Ministerial Decision of July 8, praised last year's successes, attributing them to the use of the "advanced methods" of the USSR, and contrasted Romanian schools with those in the US:

"The flourishing schools in the countries freed from the chains of exploitation is in striking contrast to the decadence of the schools dominated by the American aggressors. According to Mowry, the President of the American National Association of Education, the school system in the United States is now at its lowest ebb. . . ."

"In order to get off to a good start for the new academic year, it is necessary to eliminate all the shortcomings of the previous year. [In several areas] the regional People's Councils did not give the required attention to education and to the reconstruction and equipment plan. . . . Because of a serious lack of vigilance, the regional People's Councils and even the Ministry [of Education's] inspectors permitted unsuitable and even hostile elements to infiltrate. The fact that the Ministry of Public Education did not follow, control and analyze the activity of its inspectors and the fact that the Ministry's chiefs did not maintain close contact

\*Bulgarian school children first join the Pioneers and after 14 years of age become eligible for DSNM, Dimitrov's Youth Union.



with this phase delayed the discovery and elimination of all such elements which hamper the development of our school system.

"The Party's regional and district committees have a great responsibility to ensure preparations for the new school year. In this regard, they must always give advice to the main rural organizations, People's Councils, the Working Youth Organization [the UTM for children fifteen and over] and the Romanian Democratic Women's Union. They must also [supervise] teachers' and professors' unions and occasionally demand reports from them in addition to their overall, on the spot, control.

"Thorough study of the work done and decisions taken at the [April] Teachers' Congress, full comprehension of Party documents, the administration of Party and Government decisions, these are the steps which will enable us to develop and enrich the education of tomorrow's builders of Socialism in the 1952-1953 academic year."

## II. THE MECHANICS OF SATELLITE EDUCATION

The ideological and doctrinal changes in the educational systems of the captive countries since the advent of Communism have been the subject of considerable comment. The main administrative changes, however, are less well known. The basic pattern provides for three years of optional kindergarten, seven years of required basic schooling and four years of optional high school. In Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, as in the Soviet Union, seven years of public school are required. Hungary decrees eight and Czechoslovakia nine. Although kindergarten in most of these countries is optional, it is strongly urged and is considered by Party functionaries as an important step in teaching infants the principles of collective living.

### Comparative School Systems

Basing his analysis on the Hungarian Official Gazette, Communist news stories, and private sources, an exiled Hungarian has described the present situation of primary and secondary education in the paraphrased report which follows.

Prior to 1945 Hungarian children could enroll in six year public schools, eight year public schools or "Civic" schools. Children from 10 to 18 were eligible for eight years of (private) Gymnasium, which during the pre-war years had evolved into two types: the humanistic Gymnasium with emphasis on classical languages and the "real" Gymnasium stressing science and mathematics. "Civic" schools were attended by graduates of the first four grades of grammar school who either did not wish or could not afford to go through eight years of Gymnasium. However, "Civic" school graduates could enroll in the fifth grade of Gymnasium after passing a special examination.

With the advent of postwar regimes, an eight grade public school and the General School, sometimes referred to as

the United School, replaced the schools of the pre-1945 period. The major differences between the Communist public school curriculum, that of the pre-war period and that of the transitional period, 1945-1948, are the omission of religious instruction, Latin and modern languages and the insertion of such courses in Communist ideology as "Life of Man" and "Free Conversation." Furthermore, a greater emphasis is placed on natural history, science and technical training. Russian has been introduced as the main foreign language and is scheduled for kindergarten as well as school programs. In addition to the General Schools there are presently over 100 (eight grade) so-called Russian Schools in Hungary, where the Russian language, Russian history, Russian geography and literature are stressed.

### Curriculum Revision

Under the Communist regime the pre-war "humanistic" Gymnasium became the "classical" or "modern language" one and the "real" gymnasium evolved into the "scientific" Gymnasium. Instead of being an eight year school, it is now comparable to a four year high school. Set up by the Ministry of Public Education's decrees of 1947 and 1948, the curriculum of the "scientific" Gymnasium, the most prevalent type of high school (approximately 80 percent of the total), includes among its courses the fifteen which are listed below in order of their importance. The hours indicated refer to the aggregate class hours for all four grades of the school per week:

Russian: 19 hours per week

Hungarian Language and Literature: 13 hours

History, Physics, Arithmetic: 12 hours for each

Physical Culture: 2 hours

Every Day Problems, Music, Natural History, Art: 4 hours for each

Economic and Social Sciences, Hygiene: 3 hours for each  
Marxism-Leninism, Geography and Ethnography: 2 hours for each.

Communist ideology is taught in the classes on Economic and Social Sciences, Marxism-Leninism and Everyday Problems. Every class is conducted according to principles of Communist dogma, particularly those in history, Hungarian literature, geography and Russian. Science is given priority in the "scientific" High School as well as in the General School.

Latin is taught as the second language in the Communist style "classical" Gymnasium for a relatively large number of hours per week. The significance of including this otherwise taboo subject on the curriculum is lessened due to the small percentage of such Gymnasias in the country as a whole. The "classical" school represents only three percent of all High Schools, and only ten percent of the Gymnasium system. The "modern language" Gymnasium offers pupils a choice between French and German. English is theoretically optional but does not appear on official listings of school programs. That Hungarians wish to learn English is evidenced by the following items which appeared in recent classified ad columns

of the Budapest daily, *Magyar Nemzet*:

"I teach you English in three months. . . . Learn English with foreign-trained expert. . . . Lady of English mother-tongue. . . . Teach English to anyone two months time."

### Unwelcome Visitors

The following sidelights on the Hungarian school system were reported by a teacher who escaped from Sopron, Hungary, to Austria at the end of the last school year:

"One of the novelties introduced into the Hungarian school system by the Communist regime is that visitors may call on classes any time they like and interfere with the lessons. The regime holds that every reliable citizen has the right to enter a classroom and attend a lecture any time he likes.

"Not only do such visits interfere with the lessons and disturb the students, but many a visitor is an agent-provocateur who tries to trip a teacher into making some anti-regime remark. The reason for this is that Hungarian school teachers on the whole are known among Party circles to be anti-Communist at heart and teach the students Communist ideology automatically without making sincere efforts to convince them. For the time being, however, they are kept on the job because of the great shortage of indoctrinated teachers.

"Teaching in Hungary is among the lowest paid professions. A Hungarian teacher earns on the average 600 to 670 *forints* a month (\$54-60) — the amount a Stakhanovite worker may earn in a week. His first promotion comes only after five years, when his salary is increased by 65 *forints*. This contrasts sharply with the salaries of instructors in charge of Party indoctrination courses organized for teachers. Such instructors are paid 1,100 *forints* a month and enjoy additional privileges.

"Hungarian teachers are constantly reminded to sound more convincing when lecturing to their pupils on Marxism-Leninism and not to be paradoxical in their treatment of the subject. At one time, a Party indoctrination instructor in Sopron, related to a group of teachers, as a shocking example, that one teacher after speaking to his class about the descent of man from the ape and the fallacy of religion, entered the church that stood opposite the school house. This he did in front of the students to whom he had just lectured."

### Schools of the First, Second and Third Degree

Following the coup of February 1948 in Czechoslovakia, the newly reconstituted cabinet included Zdenek Nejedly as Minister of Education, a post he had previously held in 1945 and 1946. One of his first measures on resuming power was to draft a new "School Act." This bill, consisting of eight articles and 92 sections regulating the "basic organization of uniform education," was quickly passed. It provided for kindergartens and schools of first, second and third degree. Under certain circumstances, to be determined by Government ordinance, kindergarten, which was available and urged for three year olds, became compulsory for five year olds in order to give the children "educational care, sanitary and social protection." All schooling in Czechoslovakia is coeducational.

Section 13 of the bill provides for nine years of compulsory education starting at the age of six and carrying the pupil through first and second degree schools. Third degree schools include four years of high school, somewhat comparable to the former Gymnasias or professional schools.

Although figures are not available for all school categories, of a population of over 12 million there were approximately 1,800,000 children in lower and upper schools in 1950-1951.

In June 1951, the Presidium of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party issued a directive published in *Lidove Noviny* criticizing existing textbooks and methods of teaching and pointing out how these faults should be corrected. For instance, in instructing the mother tongue, Czechoslovak teachers must do so in the light of Stalin's essays on Marxism and Linguistics. In Russian language lessons "the unbreakable friendship of our people toward the Soviet people and our immeasurable love for the great Stalin must be stressed."

### Beautiful Capitalist Landscapes—Expurgated

Textbooks on civics must emphasize the role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia more strongly, also accenting the struggle for a "happy Socialist future." The following quotation criticizing geography textbooks appeared in *Lidove Noviny* (Prague), July 17, 1951:

"... Geography textbooks give very little instruction on the Soviet Union and devote only a few pages to the great Chinese People's Republic. In the exposition of the geography of the capitalist countries the influence of bourgeois objectivism and cosmopolitanism are clearly visible. The selection of pictures should be more careful. Pictures which were included exaggerate the advantages of life in capitalist countries, show the beauty of the landscape and their technical progress, but are silent about the oppression and misery to which the working population of these countries is exposed. . . . In the junior high schools, a full year should be devoted to the Soviet Union's geography."

### A Teacher's Lot is Not a Happy One

The title teacher is not sufficiently all-inclusive to cover the activities of the average elementary or secondary school teacher in a People's Democracy. A young teacher who recently escaped from Czechoslovakia has stated in the following report that he must also act as local unpaid clerk, unpaid agricultural worker, scrap drive collector, circuit speaker, agitator and ex-officio member of countless boards:

"On Monday I teach from eight to twelve A.M. The afternoon is taken up with a meeting of the ROH, the Revolutionary Trade Unions group, which usually lasts till evening.

"On Tuesday, I teach from eight till two P.M. At two o'clock there is a meeting of local Party organizations and at five, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League usually meets. This lasts the whole evening.

"On Wednesday I teach from eight to one P.M. After

lunch I report to the principals' office and receive detailed instructions on my outside activities for the next few days. They usually consist in working with the local or district National Committee on lists of agricultural quotas. Occasionally I make the rounds of the community to register poultry and livestock!

"On Thursday I teach from eight to three P.M. This often includes teaching classes of other teachers who are on their extra-curricular rounds. From four to nine P.M. there is a District Teachers' Conference. The majority of the conference is spent debating the who's, where's and when's of long-term brigade work and whether the teacher in question should be sent to an agricultural brigade for the 'Battle of Grain' or a building brigade in a 'Construction of Socialism' group. It is at these meetings that teachers obtain their share of ration tickets for shoes, raincoats and briefcases. As there are usually fewer tickets than applicants, a tactical battle must be waged in self-defense.

"Friday is devoted to harvest work, weeding of sugar-beet fields and the like.

"Saturday I teach from eight to twelve A.M. At one P.M. the compulsory collection of waste materials starts—scrap iron, brass, old rags, paper. This lasts till evening when the counting, weighing and reporting on collection results starts.

"Sunday morning I prepare one of the numerous speeches which must be made either at some of the organizations or in the neighboring communities. The afternoon is spent on a 'persuasion drive' among the peasants, urging them to join the Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives. It is sometimes spent journeying from house to house collecting signatures for the 'Peace' campaign, and thus ends a typical week in the life of a public school teacher."

### Romania's Reform Law

The change in Romanian education started at the end of 1945, but the Educational Reform Law was not enacted until August 3, 1948. Stating that "public education in the People's Republic of Romania is State education," the law provided for four grades of schooling: 1) optional day nurseries and kindergartens for children from three to seven; 2) elementary schooling for seven years, of which the first four are required; 3) four years of medium schooling, which includes high schools, teacher's schools, technical schools and professional schools; and 4) higher education. Almost all schooling in Romania is divided according to sex. In small villages with only one school this naturally does not apply.

To inculcate hatred for Anglo-American "imperialists" is one of the primary tasks of elementary school teachers. Gheorghe Vasilichi, purged Minister of Education, once said: "The State must give particular care to the child's first steps in life. . . . We must teach him to know the hostile world which surrounds him. . . . We must train him for communal life."

### Party Mathematics

Even arithmetic problems drive home political points. "An Anglo-American imperialist has X Negroes on his

### Г. АНАСТАСОВ

Някои учители се боят да разказват приказки, за да не бъдат обвинени в назадничавост.



Some teachers are afraid of being charged as reactionaries if they tell classic children's stories to their pupils.

—Teacher, tell us the story about the dragon and the golden apple.

—I can't, children. It is too full of danger.

—But we are not afraid, teacher.

—You are not afraid, but I am.

From *Sturshel* (Sofia), June 13

farm whom he exploits. From the work of each one he gets Y dollars. What is the sum unjustly acquired by the exploiter?"

A neutral source has listed the classes and number of hours a week spent on each subject in the seventh grade of a basic school in Bucharest: Mathematics—six hours, Russian—four, Geography and Chemistry—three hours for each, Anatomy, Physics, History and Physical Education all receive two hours and Drawing receives one. In conclusion, he comments on the educational system as follows:

"The greater part of Romanian literature, history and geography was suppressed. Only the works of 'progressive' writers are retained. History is changed according to Marxist theory. Ancient history is said to have had two phases: a primitive one, Communist in nature, and one of slavery, while the Middle Ages are stretched to cover the eighteenth century. Romanians are shown to be Slavonic in origin rather than Roman. Their history is taught as a series of oppressions and exploitations started by the Romans and continued by the Turks, Germans, French, English and Americans. Geography consists chiefly of statistics and graphs showing Socialist industrial achievements, and pointing to the USSR as the strongest country in the world due to its resources and economy."



### Collective Refresher Courses

Albania's school system also consists of a seven year compulsory period with penal measures for truants. *ATA*, (Tirana), the Albanian wire service, announced that on August 1 registration for the 1952-1953 school year had already begun and that approximately 209,300 boys and girls would study in the 2,579 Albanian elementary, secondary and high schools during the year. Albania's population according to the 1947 census was 1,150,000. This enrollment figure is claimed to triple that of pre-war years. Further advances are prophesied in the Albanian Five Year Plan according to which there will be six percent more elementary and 80 percent more medium schools in 1955 than in 1950, while the number of students will be increased by 20 percent.

Various reports from Albania have focused attention on methods now employed under the new school system. Writing on the subject several months ago, *Rinia* in Tirana dealt with the misuse of techniques of certain teaching brigades. Brigades originated to help backward children, but according to the article they are now nullifying one of the main principles of Soviet didactics, the systematic and conscious acquiring of a subject:

"... What are the qualities and defects of this [assistance] method? First of all ... a sense of collectivity was formed in the pupils' minds, because of their readiness to help each other and be successful in school. Secondly, our pupils began to understand social control and cooperation, but the defects of this method are so great that instead of improving cooperation between faculty and student and promoting systematic work, it has impaired it and for the following reason: The consultation brigade, the so-called teaching group method, is one of the main causes for weakness in individual work. According to this method the unprepared student listens to the subject for 15 or 20 minutes before the class begins. As a consequence, we are eliminating one of the main principles of Soviet didactics, systematic work, and the conscious acquiring of the subject matter.

"In the pedagogical school of Shkodra when a pupil is absent, the collective helps him by explaining the lesson. Thus, whether the pupil frequents the school or not, with or without excuse, he is assured of receiving the lesson by way of his friends. But how can this method benefit the pupil? On the contrary, it will eliminate the teacher's duty towards backward pupils. ... Soviet pedagogy which is the basis for the development of new schools in our country shows us that teachers ... must try to do everything for backward pupils after school hours. ... These defects are reminiscent of 'brigade cramming' which was punished by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1936.

"And now how should we operate? This solution, too, is found in Soviet pedagogy: systematic work by the pupil and maintenance of the teacher's role as the focal figure in the school, in class as well as out. Only the teacher has the right to appoint another instructor, another student perhaps, but under his leadership. It is also an excellent idea for the upper classes to take the lower ones under their tutelage."

### Educational Briefs from Poland

In Poland although the basic schooling period consists of seven grades the *Workers' Almanach* for 1951 stated that 5,000 four grade schools with one teacher and 7,756 six grade schools with two teachers were in operation during 1950-1951, while a total of 22,762 basic schools instructed 3,357,000 pupils. The statistics on Polish school children are not available for 1951-52 but the basic school enrollment for the 1952-1953 school year was 3,300,000 students. The decrease of enrollment since 1950 could be due to the low birthrate of 1945. The general rule on coeducation in Poland before the war provided for separate high schools and mixed basic schools. There is no information to indicate this has been changed.

Some statistical contradictions are provided by the Polish official calendar for 1952. Showing that kindergarten training is emphasized in Poland as well as in other captive nations, *Kalendarz Robotniczy* (Warsaw) 1952, stated that 8,147 kindergartens were attended by 370,000 children from three to six years old. On August 9, *Trybuna Ludu*, (Warsaw) asserted that in the current year 212,000 children would be enrolled in kindergartens, whose number has been augmented by 170 new ones. No clarification is given as to why 158,000 less infants need 170 additional schools. In Poland the emergence of *creches* for children under three is particularly current in industrialized areas. In actuality, *creches* are part of a State-supported form of "baby sitting" rather than an educational feature.

The teaching of religion in the schools is permitted by decree in both Czechoslovakia and Poland, although in the latter country this is being counteracted by the establishment of lay schools which are organized and managed "privately" by the "Society of Children's Friends." In Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary religious education is no longer on school curricula. Writing on the new Polish schools *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) November 26, 1950 said:

"The lay school represents a fundamental ideological change, and constitutes a new type of education by organizing schools free from influences hostile to People's Poland."

### Trips for Textbooks

In an article indicating that the road between the printing house and the student is "long and not always straight," *Sztandar Mlodych* of Warsaw in its September 2 issue tackled the textbook case which, according to official news reports from other captive countries, is an acute one:

"The number of textbooks as well as their prices were calculated in such a way as to make a complete set available for each student. But the textbooks are supposed to reach the customer directly from the printing house and the road is long and not always straight. 'The House of the Book' in Biala Podlaska is supposed to supply schoolbooks to village cooperatives which organize for their sale among youth of the community. Due

to [failures] on the part of the village cooperatives and their tardiness in presenting lists to the publishing houses . . . requirements have not been filled in time.

"These discrepancies in the distribution of schoolbooks have resulted in students taking long trips to acquire their books. Such excursions to other districts for the purchase of schoolbooks, in addition to the difficulties it causes the students, will create a run on the supplies, as the various book centers are only expected to supply their local districts."

### A "Solid" Communist Background

In Bulgaria, basic schooling is coeducational while boys and girls are separated in high schools. Out of a population of approximately 7,000,000, Bulgaria has nearly 800,000 children enrolled in basic schools and high schools. A Bulgarian school teacher who recently escaped gave the following information on education in his country:

"In order to ensure a solid Communist background for educating the youth in Bulgaria, the Government took steps in 1949 to place all schools, professional as well as basic, under the direct administration of the Ministry of Education. . . . The Communists, who are short of trustworthy personnel in all administrative branches, decreed that the high school course should be reduced from five to four years. A similar acceleration was applied to technical and mechanical institutes.

"The State tries to Sovietize the youth through Marxist-trained teachers and professors, translated Russian textbooks and Communist sponsored organizations.

"Elementary school lessons are divided into principal and secondary subjects, the Bulgarian language and mathematics comprising the principal ones and all others, geography, physics, history etc. secondary ones. Communism and its theories are not taught as separate subjects, but we [teachers] had to make daily references in other courses to such topics as Stalin, Lenin, the Red Army, the 'liberation' of Bulgaria by the latter, September 9 (the date on which the Communist regime took over), the Fatherland Front and other themes pertaining to the history of Communism in Bulgaria.

"History as it is taught today to elementary school children remains unchanged up to the year 1879, the year in which Bulgaria regained her national independence from the Ottoman Empire. From that date to the present it has been altered to become a defamation of the Bulgarian kings' reigns; their German origin is stressed and they are depicted as iniquitous enemies of the people, hostile to Bulgarian freedom and interests. The history of the Fatherland Front,\* is taught, not as an independent subject commencing in 1942, but as a continuation of regular history.

"The Communist regime provides youth with all kinds of recreational activities with emphasis on collective play, collective thinking, choir singing, walking, movies and theater, and both folk and modern dancing.

"It has created clubs according to age groups where students lounge, play indoor games, such as cards and chess, and read together. Only reading matter written

\*A Communist dominated mass organization which includes non-Communist activists and maintains the fiction of an independent mass body.

by 'progressive' Bulgarian writers is supplied. Recently a large and very fine club for 'pioneers' [the Party Youth Organization for school children] was established in Sofia.

"During the summer months, students wishing and needing rest are sent to camps free of charge for a four week period where the extra-curricular activity is collective play and discussions.

"Church attendance is discouraged by organizing other activities during service time. All religions are considered 'backward,' their existence tolerated only for the sake of the benighted older generation."

*Otechestven Front*, the organ of the Fatherland Front, in its March 22 issue, printed a description of collective living among a group of Bulgarian and foreign students in Sofia. A verbatim report of the students' spontaneous remarks indicated a high level of Communist indoctrination. One student was quoted as saying: "I have discovered from talking to Bulgarian students that you are building something greater than Stalingrad; that is, the new Socialist man."

### Turkish for the Turks

In Bulgaria special attention has been given to the education of Turks. They are being taught the Turkish language, and their Turkish origin is emphasized. Exiled researchers have speculated on the possibility that the Turks are being carefully indoctrinated and treated as a specialized group in order to be of political service to the Soviet at some later date. *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), August 14, carried the following item:

"This fall a new Turkish boarding school for teachers will open in Sofia and accommodate 80 youths. The school will be State financed. . . . At the University of Sofia three departments will open to train teachers in history, the Turkish language, literature, physics and mathematics (all subjects) which are needed for Turkish secondary and teachers' schools. . . . Up to September 9, 1944 there were only a few Turkish Schools in our country. At present our Government supports: 70 Turkish grammar schools, 2 junior high schools, 176 primary schools, and two schools for teachers. . . . Furthermore, 91 students have scholarships to study at universities. . . . The total number of Turkish students is 80,000.

"All these governmental efforts will enable the Turkish population . . . to take part in the cultural and educational life of our country and to double its efforts for the building of Socialism."

### III. CATHOLIC TRIALS IN BULGARIA

Under the Communist regime in Bulgaria, the Direction of Cults section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has handled official government policy toward the church. It has maintained that under Dimitrov's Constitution there is freedom of religion. It functions as coordinator of the pro-regime faction of the Orthodox Church with the peace campaign and other Communist propaganda. Unofficial policy, persecution and suppression of the Orthodox and Protestant churches in Bulgaria has been carried out by



churches has become increasingly precarious, especially that of the Catholic Church, an exiled journalist has stated that:

"Catholic priests have been constantly questioned at the Ministry of the Interior and many of them have been arrested and charged with conspiracy, contact with the Holy See and disclosure of State secrets. This situation denotes the increasing enmity between the Church and the state."

Trials of Catholic priests in Bulgaria have become more frequent in the past year. This has been attributed to their refusal to collaborate with the Communist mass organization, the Fatherland Front. Following the arrest of leading dignitaries of the Orthodox and Protestant Churches, the Bulgarian Communist regime has now redoubled its campaign against the Catholic clergy.

### Dress Rehearsal

A number of arrests have preceded the present trial. That a link exists between them has been suggested by Vatican sources. A Bulgarian who escaped in the last few months describes the cases of Father Roberto, a leading Catholic priest in Sofia and Father Damiano:

"During the first days of May a number of Catholic priests were arrested in Bulgaria. Six were arrested in Sofia, including Father Franz and five others in Plovdiv. Although Bulgarian Communist authorities admit these arrests, they do not give reasons for them. The Vatican believes they were made in connection with the accusations leveled at Father Roberto, arrested two years ago and not yet publicly tried because 'the investigations are not yet concluded.' The case against Father Ausone, the Chaplain of the French Legation and rector of the French College of Plovdiv, who was arrested as a 'spy,' has also been held in abeyance.

"On May 3, the first hearings in the procedure against Father Roberto took place behind closed doors in Sofia. Father Roberto, who belonged to the Capuchin Order, was the priest of Saint Joseph's Church of Sofia. Because he had been in contact with persons belonging to various Catholic missions, in both Catholic and non-Catholic Western countries, Father Roberto was accused of 'collaborating and conspiring' with the enemy.

"Father Roberto's trial was preceded by another trial instituted a few months ago against Father Damiano, also a Capuchin Father of the Sofia parish and the former editor-in-chief of *Istina*, the Catholic weekly printed in Bulgarian.

"During the course of his trial, when asked if he had anything to add, Father Damiano courageously affirmed: 'I have always been and shall always remain the enemy of Communism.'

"Father Roberto was also involved in Father Damiano's trial probably as a witness. The attitude of both defendants during the trial was dignified and bold. They appeared healthy, although it was reported that they were 'previously prepared' for the trial by terrible persecutions during their imprisonment.

"A person known to the author, a fervent Catholic residing in Sofia, asserted that on July 9, fourteen agents and two uniformed militia men made a thorough

the Communist Party through the People's Militia.

News of the first public trial of a group of Catholics in Bulgaria has now been received from Moscow and over Radio Sofia.

The present trial as well as the increasing number of Catholic clergy arrested since August have both been attributed to the government's determination to force the Church to break off its relations with the Vatican and to set up an independent hierarchy.

The accused, a group of 40 Catholics, including several bishops, are charged with espionage, terrorist activities and planning a coup d'etat. The gravity of the charges listed in the indictment suggest that the case is considered on a par in "infamy" with that of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and previous religious trials in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Two Bulgarians, recently escaped, have described previous non-publicized Catholic trials in the reports which follow. Observing that the position of the minority



search of the house presently used by the Capuchin Fathers both as their residence and as Sofia's Catholic chancery. The search was also extended to the large hall which was used as the church. As a result of the search, Father Fortunato, who was replacing Father Roberto as pastor, disappeared. No one knows his fate. Many young Bulgarian Catholics who were either choir members or members of the Saint Cecelia Club have since refused to attend the church, choir or club. It is evident that the militia intends to stamp out the Roman Catholic Church.

"Father Damiano was tried in Sofia in January, accused of having spread rumors and jokes about the regime. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison, two of which he had already served before trial. His brother and several fellow-priests were present at the trial and it was reported that during the reading of the sentence the judge referred to the priest as being 66 years old. Father Damiano interrupted the reading and said, 'Oh, no, not 66, but 76.'"

### The Indictment

On September 21, Radio Sofia carried the indictment of what it termed the Catholic spy organization. The charge is best summed up by its final words, the now classic Communist phrase: "Thus they became agents of international reaction." Presented to the accused on September 20, the indictment which follows, excerpted, appeared in the Bulgarian press as well as over the radio:

"The imperialists, together with their loyal stooges in the Vatican, in their mortal hatred of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, are attempting to send spies, diversionists and terrorists to those countries to organize spying and plotting organizations to weaken and overthrow the power of the workers and toiling peasants. . . .

"... The trials which took place in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania are closely linked with the Vatican and its American masters. . . .

"The trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary was particularly illustrative [of this]. A number of spying organizations and plotting centers operating under the leadership of the imperialists and the Vatican have been discovered in Bulgaria.

"The Bulgarian people, among whom are ardent Catholics, are building Socialism with enthusiasm and self-denial. [But] Catholic reactionaries linked with the Vatican and other imperialist intelligence services are using the Church for their hostile activities. They are sabotaging and hampering the economic and social

progress of our country, planning to overthrow the workers' power and establish a capitalist regime in Bulgaria.

"In July, 1952, the organs of the State Security Department discovered a spy organization . . . which was particularly active in Sofia, Plovdiv, Stalin, Russe, Yambol, and elsewhere. The accused were trained for many years at French colleges and many persons received intensive training at Catholic schools in France and Italy in spying and diversionist work.

"After the establishment of the Democratic regime in Bulgaria, acting on instructions of representatives of the French intelligence service . . . and other diplomatic representatives, as well as representatives of the Vatican intelligence service, the spy organization was set up in a number of towns throughout the country. . . . This organization had more than 40 members, 10 of whom were Catholic priests. The leaders and members of the organization are trained spies. . . . Under the veil of the black cassock and within church domain, members of the group committed grave crimes against the security of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Under the cover of church services they toured towns and villages, spying and plotting. Up to the time of their arrest they were collecting and transmitting economic, political and military material to the imperialist intelligence services. . . .

"In order to facilitate the transmission of information in the event of war . . . Catholic priest Pavel Gigov had two portable radio transmitters of American origin. . . .

"The organization was supplied with a cyclostyle machine for printing. It was also supplied with great quantities of medicines, foodstuffs, and other materials necessary for setting up of bandit groups.

"On instructions of the organization's leaders, the accused began to organize armed groups in the struggle against the government. . . . They . . . had rifles, bombs and other items necessary for the arming of terrorist groups.

"The spying organization received more than 50 million *leva*. Participants in the organization, taking advantage of the freedom which they enjoy, used sermons to carry out hostile activity and to sabotage the Government's measures. . . . These villains . . . were openly instigating the population against the government's measures . . . [they] took advantage of the Catholic churches not only for spying and plotting, but also to hide suspicious elements who had committed grave crimes and who were wanted by the authorities. . . . Thus they became agents of international reaction. . . ."

## Election Masquerade

THE SOVIET Union has always masked its dictatorship in constitutional fictions, promoting "general resolutions," "people's constitutions," and "free elections," but ignoring or manipulating their results and meanings. In the captive countries of East Europe, the USSR has imposed these externally democratic forms while depriving them of their essential democratic substance, and most particularly is this true of the way they have used "free elections."

### **The Baltic Countries:**

Because the three Baltic countries were absorbed by the USSR, they have identical election procedures under the Soviet Constitution. There is only one party and one list of candidates, approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Paragraph 34 of the Soviet Constitution provides that citizens may participate in the election of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. For each 300,000 citizens, one deputy is elected to the Supreme Council. Latvia, therefore, has 7 deputies, Estonia 4, and Lithuania 10. The Constitution also provides that the Baltic Republics may elect representatives to the Council of Nationalities, and each republic is entitled to 25 deputies. Each republic also elects its own Supreme Council, which, according to Paragraph 58 of the Constitution, is elected for terms of four years and on the basis of one deputy for approximately 10 to 20,000 inhabitants. Latvia has some 100 deputies, Estonia about 115, and Lithuania 205.

In theory, elections are secret but are carried out by electoral commissions appointed by the Communist Party and supervised by the MVD. Ballots are processed and counted by members of these electoral commissions and are destroyed upon completion of the count. Statistics on recent Baltic elections are not available but government press and radio indicated that 92.9 percent of the Estonian electorate, 98.7 of the Latvian, and 99.2 of the Lithuanian electorate cast their ballots for Communist candidates in the 1940 elections.

"Clumsily enough, these results were officially announced by the Soviet News Agency in a London newspaper fully twenty-four hours before the closing of the 'polls.'"

"The Baltic States," *The New Leader*, April 14, 1945.

After the Red Army occupied the Baltic Countries in 1940, elections were announced. The Communist Party was the only party permitted and it appeared as the "League of the Working People." In Latvia, Andrei Vishinsky arrived to direct procedures and established headquarters in the Soviet Embassy. Elections were to be "free and democratic" and all citizens were asked to participate. Except in Lithuania, where no opposition was allowed, candidacies were permitted by isolated individuals but not by parties. In Latvia, a joint list was made up by all parties except the Social Democrats, which included: the Farmers' Union, Agrarians and Smallholders, Democratic Center, Progressive Party, Christian Democrats, Landlord's Association, Businessmen's Association, industrialists and other groups.

### **The Citizens' Bloc**

The platform and candidates of this Citizens' Bloc was presented to Vishinsky, who expressed his pleasure with it, but it was a trap. The Citizens' List contained the names of all those leading political figures who had accepted the challenge and expressed readiness to run against the Communist ticket. Four days before the elections, the Soviet government declared the Citizens' List was sponsored by enemies of the people and could, therefore, not be accepted. The campaign headquarters of the opposition was seized and all that was left was the Communist Party list to vote for.

An eyewitness account tells:

"... All voters had to carry their passports to the polls. After a vote was cast, the passport was stamped. There was no real possibility of boycotting the elec-

tions. It was generally known that all those who could not produce a stamped passport after elections would instantly be dismissed from their jobs. In the presence of armed Russian guards, the people silently cast their ballots. There were 28,000 damaged ballots cast, according to official Soviet reports, which stated that 98.7 percent of the people had cast their ballots. The official Soviet news agency, Tass, by mistake had announced the 'results' of these 'free and democratic' elections 24 hours before the people went to the polls. And the figures announced exceeded by 2 percent the number of eligible voters, thus giving the Soviets a '102 percent victory.'

### Poland:

Polish electoral procedures will be based on the new Constitution of July 22, 1952, and on the Electoral Ordinance of August 1, 1952. For election purposes Poland is divided into electoral districts represented by a deputy for each 60,000 inhabitants. Deputies are elected to Poland's unicameral legislative body, the Sejm, for terms of four years. With an approximate population of 25 and a half million, Poland should have some 425 deputies in the Sejm. Article 81 of the Constitution states: "Every citizen who has reached the age of 18, irrespective of sex, nationality, race, religion, length of residence, social origin, profession, or property status, has the right to vote." And according to Article 80, "Elections to the Sejm and to the People's Councils are universal, equal, direct, and carried out by secret ballot."

A special Electoral Commission, appointed by the Central State Electoral Commission, designates special sites as polling places. In Poland, these are generally located in school buildings. The Central State Electoral Commission is appointed by the State Council. [The State Council is Poland's highest executive branch, a body of 15 elected by the Sejm at its first plenary session, and corresponding to the Presidium of the USSR.] No provisions are made for representatives of the candidates to be present at the voting. Also, there is no express punishment for not voting, although there is much propaganda emphasizing the need to vote.

Article 33 of the Electoral Ordinance grants the right to submit lists of candidates to "political, professional, and cooperative organizations." These groups may present separate lists or act en bloc to present a single list. However, certain organizations are forbidden in Poland and the provisions of Article 72 of the Constitution (paragraph 3) defines them. "The organization of associations and the participation in associations whose aim or activity is detrimental to the political and social order, or to the legal order, of the Polish People's Republic is prohibited."

Voting in the Sejm elections takes place according to the procedure outlined in Article 55. The voter takes the ballot sheet behind a curtain and there, if the ballot contains two or more lists, he indicates his selection of a list by placing a mark in the proper place. The voter may cross out any names that appear on the list for which he votes. He then emerges and deposits his ballot face down, folded so that the names and mark cannot be seen, in the

election urn in the presence of the electoral commission.

All voting is supervised by the electoral commission. After voting closes, the chairman of the commission opens the urn and counts the total number of votes, checking that figure against the number of those entitled to vote. The entire commission then counts the votes for each particular candidate. The vote is considered cast for all the candidates and alternates on the list indicated by the voter, except for those persons whose names he has crossed out. If there is no "proper" mark on the ballot, or if marks have been placed beside two or more lists, then the vote is considered cast for the list that appears in the first position on the ballot (invariably the Communist Party's list).

Elections pertain both to the legislature and to the executive. The Constitution stated that the judiciary was to be elected according to a separate law to be enacted in the future. Judges of the Supreme Court, however, are elected by the State Council, which means, in effect, that they are actually appointed.

All propaganda media are in the hands of the State. Since there is no television, press and radio carry most of the campaigning, in addition to the nation-wide mass meetings. Article 80 of the Constitution states simply that "all expenses connected with the elections will be covered by the State budget." Campaign expenditures will be defrayed by the State and, in this case, by a specifically Communist regime that controls the State.

### The 1947 Election

The last legislative election in Poland took place on January 19, 1947, and was supposed to conform to the decisions adopted at the Yalta Agreement by the United States, the United Kingdom and the USSR. The agreement provided for the establishment of a so-called Provisional Government of National Unity, which would combine the Soviet-sponsored Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Polish Emigre Government in London, and whose chief task was to organize free and unfettered elections.

According to Communist sources, "about 90 percent" of the eligible voters took part in the 1947 elections. The Communists organized several fellow-traveller parties en bloc and proposed a common ticket. Their bloc was composed of:

Polish Worker's Party (PRR)—Communist.

Polish Socialist Party (PPS)—Socialist leaders collaborating with the Communists.

Peasant Party (SL)—A Communist-organized and dominated group deliberately set up to be confused with Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party and designed to split the peasant vote.

Democratic Party (SD)—also Communist-dominated.

Although the opposition was represented by the Polish Peasant Party led by Mikolajczyk, there was no general freedom for forming opposition parties. In the nominal opposition, there were also several smaller parties such as



the Catholic Labor Party and the Party of New Freedom. In actual fact, all opposition groups, including non-Communist rank and file Socialists led by Zygmunt Zulawski and all other anti-Communist forces, supported the Polish Peasant Party list.

The elections of 1947 were held in an atmosphere of terror. Political leaders were arrested, polling places attacked by the secret police and Communist Party groups, the opposition's electoral lists were disqualified and their names were stricken from the ballot. Candidates were beaten and tortured to make them withdraw. Several public "show trials" were conducted to attempt to connect the accused to the opposition and so smear them. Opposition communications were sabotaged, parliamentary members' immunities violated, and displays of military force were put on to cow the voters. The Communists organized mass demonstrations for "open voting." Ration cards were withdrawn, farms confiscated, and small businessmen accused of blackmarketing in order to terrorize members of the opposition. In addition, members of the district electoral commissions were all Communists, as were their deputies, and the opposition parties were permitted no observers at the polls, nor at the tabulations. Out of 6691 polling places, opposition observers were permitted in only 296. Ballot boxes were stuffed, exchanged, and votes mistabulated, and in areas where opposition voting was heavy, ballot boxes were closed early. Furthermore, in 10 districts which accounted for 22 percent of the electorate, the Polish Peasant Party was not permitted to put up its list of candidates, and these areas were acknowledged to be Polish Peasant Party strongholds.

Publicity organs were generally denied to the opposition and in cases where its leaders were permitted use of press and radio, they were heavily censored. Opposition printing shops were raided, their presses smashed, and the distribution of their propaganda sabotaged. In the last 24 hours before voting, telegrams were sent to Peasant Party officials announcing that Mikolajczyk, leader of the Party, had been killed in an airplane accident. Everything possible was done to create confusion and despair in the anti-Communist ranks.

## The Results

Of the 12,701,056 votes cast, 11,244,873 were recognized as valid and they were distributed as follows:

Communist Bloc	9,003,684
Polish Peasant Party	1,154,847
Labor Party	530,979
Polish Peasant Party "New Liberation"	397,754
Other groups	157,611
Unaccounted for	18,000

As a result of the election, the 444 seats in the Sejm were divided up as follows:

Communist Bloc	384 seats
Polish Peasant Party	28 seats
Labor Party	15 seats

Polish Peasant Party "New Liberation"	13 seats
Progressive Catholics	3 seats
Independent Socialists	1 seat

In spite of protests from the opposition—Mikolajczyk appealed to the Supreme Court to annul the elections on the grounds that he was unable to secure his Party's representation at the polls—and notes from the British and American governments, the election was declared valid and the Communist position in Poland so solidified that virtually only representatives of regime parties sat in the Sejm. Soon after elections, the parliamentary opposition was removed under the pretext of subversive activity and the principal opposition leaders were forced to flee the country or were tried and imprisoned. [See NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, September, p. 9.] The Communist hold on Poland was now completed.

## Albania:

In Albania, the only party permitted on the ballot is the so-called Democratic Front of the Albanian People's Democracy. According to the by-laws of February 18, 1950:

"Only social organizations and worker associations, the organizations of the Albanian Work Party, of the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Cooperative Organizations, Youth Organizations, Women's Organizations and cultural associations have the right to present candidates for the election of representatives to the People's Assembly."

Voting rights are extended to all citizens except those deprived of the right by judicial action. Voting is for all branches of the government. Legislators for 4 years, Executive (People's Council) for 2 years, and Judicial for 3 years. All expenses incurred in the campaign are defrayed by the government.

Voting is supervised by the Central Electoral Committee, the Electoral Committee of the Zones and by the Commission of the Voting Centers. These are composed of representatives from the trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, etc. The voter gets a rubber pill and then holding it in his closed hand puts it into all the ballot boxes, dropping the rubber pill into the box of the candidate he chooses, or the box which represents no candidate.

The verification and counting of ballots follows. The Commissions of the Voting Centers verify the number of voters on the basis of electoral lists. Then the ballot boxes are opened and the president of the Commission counts the pills in each box, recording the number of electors on the electoral lists, the number of those who participated, and the number of votes for each candidate, as well as the number in the box without a candidate. Representatives of the workers' organizations and delegates of the press have the right to be present during the election proceedings. Candidates elected are those who have won an absolute majority of the ballots, and these are given "election certificates."

The State-owned radio makes broadcasts on the election, but, since there is no TV, the propaganda most in vogue in

Albania, since it is a small country, consists of speeches in the electoral zone some days before the election.

### Albanian Irony

An interesting irony is the law which reads: "Everybody who uses violence, menace, fraud, etc., or prevents citizens of the Albanian People's Republic from exercising freely his right to vote is liable to penalties of up to two years in jail." Nevertheless, systematic terror is invoked immediately before as well as at election times, and the following is a refugee report on the last Albanian election:

"... we were taken in ranks from our quarters to the polls. When we arrived, we heard the usual Front propaganda and when we went into the polling booth, there were spies of the Sigurimi [People's Defense] in the clothes of representatives of the Worker's Associations. One of them came over to me and hit me on the back in a comradely fashion, whispering: 'Comrade, no other way except the Front. You know that sooner or later the anti-Fascist voters [opposition] will be liquidated. Don't waste your time putting your hand into all the boxes!'"

### *Albanian Election Statistics on the 1945 and 1950 Elections Under Communist Rule:*

#### *December 2, 1945*

Voters registered : 603,566  
Voters voting : 542,400  
Percentage voting: 89.86 percent  
For the Democratic Front [Communist]: 505,304 or 93.18 percent  
Against the Democratic Front : 36,816 or 6.79 percent  
Total number of representatives elected: 82

#### *May 28, 1950*

Voters registered : 641,241  
Voters voting : 637,578  
Percentage voting: 99.43 percent  
For the Democratic Front: 98.18 percent.  
Against the Democratic Front: 0.82 percent  
Total number of representatives elected: 121.

(The increase in the number of deputies is due to the fact that in 1945, one representative was chosen for every 20,000 citizens, while subsequently the Constitution changed this to one representative for every 10,000 citizens.)

### **Bulgaria:**

According to paragraph 3 of the Bulgarian Constitution, promulgated on December 4, 1947 by the Communists, "All citizens of the People's Republic, 18 years old or more, are entitled to vote without respect to their sex, origin, race or religion." The special electoral law of 1948 stipulates that "the right to vote is mandatory and any voter who does not use his right is subject to a fine of up to 500 leva [approximately six dollars, three days' salary for an average worker]. Every community publishes a complete list of eligible voters and abstention is considered opposition to the regime. This may mean being put on

the black list, sent to a labor camp, or sentenced to prison. These methods often permit the Communists to declare, and truthfully, that more than "95 percent of the voters have cast their ballots."

According to paragraph 87 of the Constitution, "The existence of any associations, groups, organizations, parties . . . which openly or secretly profess 'Fascist' or 'anti-Democratic' ideologies, or which help 'imperialist aggression,' is forbidden and punishable by law." Therefore, no other party is permitted by the Communists to present an electoral list.

In balloting, the voter receives an envelope from the president of the election commission and goes into the "dark room" with it. There he votes and seals the ballot in the envelope. He goes out and hands it to the president of the commission who drops it into the ballot box. Frequently, however, the president retains the envelopes of voters either known or suspected of hostility to the regime and who might have cast a blank vote, and hence an anti-government vote, in order to carry out subsequent reprisals. Processing and counting of ballots is not supervised, and when the results are tabulated, they are sent together with the protocols of the election commission, to the Ministry of Interior.

### "Agit-Prop"

Electioneering is carried out by the "Agitation and Propaganda" (Agit-Prop) sections of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and the campaign expenses are paid for by the Ministry of the Interior. The Agit-Prop section mobilizes its subsections in all public organizations such as the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, youth organizations, the Bulgarian-Soviet Association, etc., and through them distributes its prepared campaign materials. State radio stations beam the speeches; State-owned printing shops print leaflets and papers; the artistic collectives work on portraits of Bulgarian and Soviet Communist leaders, and regional, group and block Party supervisors go from house to house to carry on word of mouth propaganda. Generally, the campaign's basic elements include extolling the achievements of the Bulgarian Communist Party and government in building socialism, emphasizing the fulfillment of the Five Year Economic Plan, propagandizing stakhanovism and labor competitions, lauding the "great help" provided by the Soviet Union to Bulgaria, and stressing the invincibility of the USSR and the infallibility of Stalin, who is presented as both "father" and "leader" of the Bulgarian people.

Section 2 of the Electoral Law deals with the composition of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

"The number of representatives of the National Assembly is estimated in accordance with data provided by the Bureau of Statistics from the census of January 1, 1946, decreed by the Minister of Interior. For each 15,000 citizens, and for remainders larger than 7,500 citizens, one representative is elected."

Legal measures have been used to eliminate the oppo-

sition, and the following measures have been particularly useful in this respect: "The Law of the People's Militia," "The Law for Safeguard of State Secrets," "The Defense of the People's Power," and "The General Penal Law."

The background of Bulgarian politics is complicated but necessary to an understanding of the elections. In June, 1944, a nonpolitical government was formed under Bagrianov, to be followed by a coalition government charged by the Regency with obtaining peace from the Allies. This coalition government, led by the leaders of the Agrarian, Democratic and Populists Parties, sent its emissaries to Cairo to treat with the United States and Great Britain. The government was formed on September 2, 1944; four days later, on September 5, 1944, the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria and three days later the Red Army invaded. The purpose of the invasion was ostensibly to secure the flank of the Red Army, but it was simultaneously a method of preventing Bulgarian democratic forces from orientation toward the West.

## Fatherland Front

On September 9, 1944, a Fatherland Front coalition government was formed which included the Communist Party, the left wing Agrarians (Pladne), the left wing Socialists, and the Zveno, and this cabinet ruled by decree. Although the Communists were a minority in the government, they controlled the administration through their control of the Ministry of the Interior [Police] and by the presence of 300,000 Red Army troops. Bulgaria was then under the supervision of the Allied Control Commission, but American and British representatives were powerless in the face of the Soviet General Birusov, commander of the Red Army forces in Bulgaria, and Russian member and chairman of the Control Commission.

The leader of the Agrarians, Nikola Petkov, finally resigned with three other Agrarian ministers, as did the Socialist, Cheshmedjyev, and the Independent, Stoyanov, as a protest. Petkov then presented a memorandum to the Allied Control Commission detailing Soviet domination of and interference with the internal affairs of Bulgaria. As a result, in June of that year, at the Potsdam Conference, the Soviet Union capitulated to President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill's insistence on free elections in Bulgaria.

The first elections took place in November, 1945, and its results follow:

Eligible voters	4,402,277	
Actually voted	3,754,648	84.56 percent
For the Fatherland Front	3,316,145	88.32 percent

[Izgreve, October 27, 1945]

In October, 1946, an election for the National Assembly was held in which the Communists presented a new coalition called the Fatherland Front, composed of left wing Agrarians (Pladne), left wing Socialists, the Zveno, and the Communists, and they elected 364 of the 465 deputies. The opposition, also in coalition, and led by Nikola Petkov, the Agrarian leader, and the Socialist, K. Lulchev,

received 101 mandates. In spite of police terror, vote changing, falsification of electoral lists, interference with opposition propaganda, and mistabulation of votes, the opposition still managed to obtain more than 30 percent of the vote.

Party	Number of Votes	Deputies
Fatherland Front Coalition	2,981,189	364
Communist Party	2,260,407	278
Agrarians	562,114	68
Zveno	70,358	8
Socialists	79,511	9
Fatherland Front Opposition	1,205,530	101
Democratic Parties	22,884	0
Void	42,957	0

[Rabotnichesko Delo, November 18, 1946]

By 1947 and 1948, the Communists had stepped up their campaign against the opposition, dissolving their parties, breaching their parliamentary immunities, and arresting their leadership. Many Bulgarian statesmen, such as Nikola Moushanov, leader of the Bulgarian Democratic Party, Krustio Pastouhov, leader of the Socialist Party, Professor Petko Stoyanov, leader of Independents, Peter Bojinov, Agrarian Party Deputy, died in prison while many others, like Agrarian leader Petkov, were tried publicly and executed. This systematic elimination of anti-Communist forces changed the voting picture so radically that by the 1949 elections, the results were:

Total eligible voters	4,751,849	
Total actual vote	4,698,979	98.9 percent
For the Fatherland Front	4,588,996	97.6 percent
Void	109,983	2.3 percent

[Rabotnichesko Delo, December 19, 1949]

## Hungary:

In postwar Hungary, relatively free and secret elections were held in 1945 and 83 percent of the voting population voted against the Communists.

November 4, 1945	%	Number of votes	Number of seats
Independent Smallholders Party (Tildy)	59.9	2,688,161	245
Communist Party (Rakosi)	17.11	800,257	70
Social Democratic Party (Szakasits)	16.9	821,566	69
National Peasant Party (Veres)	5.6	322,936	23
Civic-Democratic Party (Supka)	0.49	78,522	2
	100.00	4,711,442	409

The elections were an overwhelming victory for the anti-Communist Independent Smallholders' Party. Considering the aggressive and reiterated Communist propaganda, and more important, the presence of the Red Army in Hungary, the 17.11 percent Communist vote was very moderate indeed.



Subsequent to the elections, Communist "salami tactics" began and gradually, from 1945-1952, the Communists destroyed the anti-Communist parties. (For further details of these "salami tactics," see *NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*, May, pp 43-47.) In the face of increasing Communist pressure, the leaders of the Smallholder's Party had only two alternatives: either they could withdraw from the government coalition (with Communist, Social Democrat, and National Peasant Parties), or continue a policy of compromise in the hope that the Red Army would leave Hungary and that the Hungarian people would again vote against communism. The Smallholders' Party leaders were forced into a compromise and exposed their party to gradual extinction. Had the Red Army left Hungary before 1947, they might have maintained themselves. However, the Peace Treaty signed in Paris in 1947 permitted the Soviets to maintain an unspecified number of troops in Hungary to keep their communication and supply lines open to Austria.

### Nagy's Removal

At the time of the 1947 coup and in the subsequent purges, by utilizing the leftist elements within the Smallholders' Party, intimidating other elements in the party, labelling opposition leaders "Fascists," and causing their expulsion, the Communists exerted increasing pressure on the anti-Communist faction, until, finally, the preliminaries were followed by the removal of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy in the last days of May, 1947. The Communists then appointed a fellow traveller, Lajos Dinnyes, as Prime Minister, and gave Nagy's post as Chairman of the Smallholders' Party to leader of the leftist elements in the Smallholders' Party, Istvan Dobi. Thus, the Party was made Communist-controlled.

The Communists were now confident they could win a majority and their first step was to abolish the electoral laws effective in 1945 and to force passage through the National Assembly of new electoral laws favorable to them. The new elections were announced for August, 1947. In that campaign, the anti-Communist forces were deprived of virtually all campaigning possibilities by Laszlo Rajk, then Communist Minister of Interior, and later charged with Titoism and executed. In spite of this new electoral law, which gave them an 18 seat premium, and police terror, the Communists managed to get only 22 percent of the vote.

August 31, 1947	%	No. of votes	No. of seats	Pre-miums	No. of total seats
Communist Party (Rákosi)	22.27	1,113,050	82	18	100
Democratic People's Party (Barankovics)	16.41	820,453	60	—	60
Independent Smallholders Party (Dobi)	15.4	769,763	56	12	68
Social Democratic Party (Szakasits)	14.9	744,641	55	12	67
Christian Women's Front (Schlachta)	1.39	69,536	4	—	4

Hungarian Independent Party (Pfeiffer)	13.42	670,547	49	—	49
Peasant Party (Veres)	8.31	415,465	30	6	36
Hungarian Democratic Party (Peter Balogh)	5.21	260,420	18	—	18
Radical Party (Zsolt)	1.68	84,169	6	—	6
Civic Democratic Party (Veszi)	1.01	50,294	3	—	3
	100.00	4,998,338	363	48	411

As soon as the National Assembly was called into session, the Hungarian Independent Party was dissolved, and the Hungarian Democratic Party merged with the Communists. In the summer of 1948, the Social Democratic Party, its anti-Communist leaders either liquidated or exiled, merged with the Communist Party. The Democratic People's Party was then dissolved in January, 1949, and the remaining three small parties gradually broke up. Thus, the leaders and organizations of the four major opposition parties were liquidated, so that by the time new elections were called for in 1949, the entire voting picture had changed. Elections now included only one list, that of the Independent People's Front, composed of the fellow-traveller remnants of what once were the anti-Communist parties, and the Communists themselves.

The results of the 1949 elections were overwhelming.

May 15, 1949:

Hungarian People's Front	92.1 percent
Against	3.1 percent
	95.2

The number of people eligible for voting had been considerably reduced by the simple method of disenfranchising oppositionist voters. There was no effective opposition to the one party ticket, and the electoral method had ceased to be more than a convenient Communist fiction.

### Romania:

Communist techniques have been illustrated in Romania by two general elections, in 1946 and 1948, representing successive stages in the Communist control of the country. On August 23, 1944, King Michael organized a coup d'état which overthrew the government of Marshal Ion Antonescu. This was accomplished in cooperation with a four party bloc composed of the National Peasant Party led by Iuliu Maniu, the Liberal Party led by Constantin Bratianu, the Social Democratic Party led by Titel Petrescu, and the Communist Party led by Lucretiu Patrascanu. The latter were included not on the basis of their local power, but primarily for international reasons. Shortly thereafter, an armistice with the Allies was signed and these parties formed a coalition government. In October of that same year, a National Democratic Front was organized composed of the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ploughmen's Front, and the Union of Patriots, the last two organizations Communist-dominated.

In November, a new government was formed under General Sanatescu with ministers from the four parties of

the bloc. However, the National Democratic Front objected to N. Penescu, a member of the National Peasant Party holding the Ministry of Interior, and precipitated a crisis. A new government was formed under General Radescu, and he himself took the Ministry of Interior, but was forced to accept a Communist, Teohari Georgescu, as his Undersecretary. Georgescu began to undermine Radescu's authority in the Ministry and the Communists came under Radescu's vigorous attack.

In February, 1945, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Andrei Vishinsky, arrived in Soviet-occupied Bucharest and insisted on the removal of Radescu. King Michael attempted the formation of a new cabinet, but Vishinsky intervened directly, insisting that a National Democratic Front government be formed under Petru Groza. On March 6, 1945, under this overt Soviet pressure, plus Communist-inspired mass demonstrations, Michael was forced to accept the National Democratic Front government with the ministries of Interior (Georgescu), Justice (Patrascanu), and National Economy (Gheorghiu-Dej) controlled by the Communists.

## Power and Purge

No sooner were they in power when the Communists began a purge of the administration to consolidate their control of the governmental machinery. The United States and the United Kingdom protested against the USSR's unilateral interference in Romania, but the Soviet Union went ahead and recognized the Groza regime. The US and the UK did not. At the Potsdam Conference, the West took this matter up and insisted on "free and unfettered" elections. On the strength of this, King Michael asked for the resignation of the Groza government, but Groza refused to resign. The King then refused to sign decrees but the Groza government continued to function without him.

At the Moscow Conference, December, 1945, the "Big Three" agreed that one National Peasant representative and one Liberal Party representative should be included in the Groza cabinet. Also, the government was to declare itself in favor of free religion, speech, assembly, and press, and call for elections as soon as possible. On the explicit understanding that these terms would be fulfilled, the US and Great Britain recognized the government.

The Groza government then began its terror, instituting press censorship, political arrests and persecution, and abrogation of assembly. By insisting on a common list with the Social Democrats, the Communist split the Social Democratic Party and absorbed its left wing, led by Voitec and Radaceanu, and ousted Titel Petrescu, anti-Communist, who then attempted to form an Independent Socialist Party. A new electoral law was instituted which made registration of voters difficult and which was administered so that it helped the Communists and their sympathizers. Press and radio were censored, electoral registers were falsified, multiple voting and mistabulation of votes took place, and murder and repression were used, and all were part of the obviously rigged elections.

## The November Election

In the elections of November 19, 1946, the Communists had set up a bloc (BPD, *Blocul partidelor democratice*) of Communist-dominated splinter parties, as well as three so-called "independent" groups cooperating with them. The total electorate was 7,968,714 and the actual vote 6,823,928, a percentage figure of 85.6.

	Seats	Popular vote
Communist Party (Gheorghiu-Dej)	70	4,766,630
Liberal Party (Tatarescu)	72	
Socialist Party		
(Voitec, Voinea, Radaceanu)	78	
Ploughmen's Front (Groza)	71	
National People's Party		
(Constantinescu-Iasi)	26	
National Peasant Party		
(Alexandrescu)	22	
Democratic Jewish Union	2	
"Independents"	7	33,456
Hungarian People's Union	29	569,651
Peasant Party (Lupu)	2	156,775
<i>Opposition:</i>		
National Peasant Party (Maniu)	32	879,927
National Liberal Party (Bratianu)	3	259,306
Independent Socialists (Petrescu)	0	65,528
Invalidated votes		92,655

This gave the government bloc 341 seats, plus the additional "independent" seats that were in fact Communist-dominated. That brought them a total of 379 seats, against a total of 35 opposition seats. The opposition parties charged the Communist government with electoral fraud and terror, and refused to recognize the validity of the new Assembly. Consequently, their representatives refused to sit in. The US and the UK likewise refused to recognize the validity of the elections.

In 1947, the weeding out of opposition elements was intensified. The National Peasant Party was formally banned and its leaders, Maniu and Mihalache, were tried for conspiracy and sentenced to life imprisonment. Petrescu's Independent Socialist Party was dissolved and in May, 1948, Petrescu was arrested. The Communists had brought pressure to bear on King Michael (December, 1947), forced him to abdicate, and then declared Romania a "People's Republic." By the beginning of 1948, the elimination of the opposition and the control of the government had been completed. The government renamed its bloc the People's Democratic Front and called for new elections in March.

## March 28, 1948:

People's Democratic Front	405
Democratic Peasant Party	9
Liberal Party	

There was only a token opposition, and all parties were, in fact, Communist-dominated. And so, the Communists who in 1944, according to Ana Pauker, had only 1000 members in their Party, were now, four years later, in 1948, in complete control of the Romanian government.

## Czechoslovakia:

In April, 1945, Eduard Benes returned to his native country from London via Moscow and the journey was politically symbolic. Benes felt deeply that his country had been betrayed by the West at Munich. He was also aware that the USSR would play a decisive role in East and Central Europe because of the events of the war and the Yalta and Teheran Conferences. Further, he was grateful for Red Army aid in liberating his country. All these things made Benes interested in establishing friendly relations with the USSR.

On April 4, a new Czechoslovak government was formed at liberated Kosice in Eastern Slovakia. It was composed of a Czech section, a National Front of four parties: National Socialist, Social Democrat, People's Party (Catholic), and Communist Party; and a Slovak section, a coalition of two parties: Communist and Slovak Democrats.

The distribution of cabinet posts had been decided in Moscow under Soviet direction and pressure and was extremely favorable to the Communists. They held the Ministries of Agriculture (Duris), Information (Kopecky), Education (Nejedly), Social Welfare (Soltes) and Interior (Nosek). Through the Ministry of Interior they controlled the National Security Corps (Police [SNB]), and they also controlled Military Intelligence and the Army General Staff. Communist influence was immediately manifest in the way they helped cede Ruthenia to the USSR, gave the Soviets the uranium mines at Jachymov, and distributed spoils to Communist sympathizers through the Agricultural Ministry by dividing the expropriated properties of the 3 million Germans from Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia who had been evicted. Because of these things, and the recent liberation efforts of the Red Army, the Communists were relatively popular in Czechoslovakia at that time.

In December, 1945, the Red Army was evacuated and Parliamentary elections were held in May, 1946. The results were:

Party	Seats	%
Communist Party	93	31
National Socialists	55	18
People's Party	46	15
Social Democrats	37	13
Slovak Democrats	43	14
Slovak Communist Party	21	7
Slovak Labor Party	2	0.7
Slovak Freedom Party	4	1.3

In the new government established July, 1946, all parties had one deputy premier, but Klement Gottwald, the Communist leader, was Prime Minister. Of the 26 ministries (Including Deputy Ministers and State Secretaries), 9 were Communist, 3 Social Democrat, 4 National Socialist, 4 People's Party, and two were presumably non-party: Ludvik Svoboda, National Defense, and Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister. Of the total of 300 deputies, the Communists and Social Democrats together had an absolute majority of 153.

It was a relatively fair election, although the Communists held the administrative machinery of the government and the radio, and limited the effectiveness of the press by using paper and newsprint shortages to short circuit opposition propaganda. Further, they disenfranchised some 250-300,000 for "collaboration."

All the contending parties' platforms were agreed on nationalization of mines and all large industry, completion of agrarian reforms, and implementation of the social insurance system. However, all the parties except the Communists were committed to a policy of democratic parliamentarianism in achieving their goals.

## The National Front

The coalition worked until July, 1947, although anti-Communist sentiment had grown in Czechoslovakia because of the usual Red Army depredations, as well as the ruthless injustices of the local Communists. At that time, the government was invited to a preliminary conference on the Marshall Plan held in Paris, and accepted the invitation. A delegation of Masaryk, Drtina, and Gottwald were summoned to Moscow, and Stalin presented them with an ultimatum: they were not to participate in the Marshall Plan. Reluctantly, they acceded to the Soviet demand.

There was a simmering conflict among the parties on the nationalization of trade and banking and the new agrarian reform. Also, the anti-Communist forces had been resisting the excesses of the Communist-controlled Ministry of Interior through the Ministry of Justice. With elections due in June 1948, the Communists, late in 1947, began to exploit their control of the Ministry of Interior to pack the police force with their own partisans, keeping in mind that the police could be used to influence and dominate the forthcoming elections. The breaking point was reached when 8 non-Communist police officials were replaced in the Prague area in February, 1948. In order to assure honest elections and prevent the further Communization of the police, a Cabinet majority informed the Minister of Interior, Nosek, that he was to stop packing the police. Backed by Communist Prime Minister Gottwald, Nosek disregarded their instructions, and the anti-Communist ministers of all parties, except those of the Social Democrats, resigned.

The failure to secure Social Democratic support in this matter was crucial, and was based on careful Communist use of the fellow-traveller wing of the Social Democrats led by Fierlinger. Also, the resigning ministers took their step without sufficient awareness of its meaning and without due regard for the consequences. Further, President Benes' support was also uncertain. He was ill, upset by the possibility of the revival of Germany, and committed to maintaining good relations with the USSR against that possibility.

## The Putsch

The simmering had come to a boil. Radio and press in the hands of the Communist Minister of Information,



Kopecky, began to accuse the resigned ministers and their parties of being "anti-Democratic," "anti-Socialist," and "agents of foreign reaction." They organized mass demonstrations of their "action committees" in Prague. Benes was put under pressure to accept a new government without "reactionary" ministers, but he resisted. Pressure from the Soviet Union was apparent in the sudden and unanticipated arrival in Prague on February 19th of Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, V. A. Zorin. Gottwald kept insisting on a "Regenerated National Front" government. Pro-Communist Minister of Defense, Svoboda, did not bring his forces into action against the Communist street demonstrations, nor against Communist "strong arm squads" which took action against various anti-Communist parties and their adherents.

On February 25 Benes finally capitulated and Gottwald formed a "Regenerated National Front." The coup d'etat was over; the Communists were in power. The key posts were taken over by Communists and fellow-traveller Social Democrats. On February 28, Minister of Justice, Drtina, attempted to commit suicide as a protest, and on March 10, Jan Masaryk, either leaped or was pushed from his window.

Immediately after the Communist putsch, purges of parliament, the civil service, the universities, press and radio were instituted, and preparations for the elections were made. Under the Communist-dominated rump Parliament, a new electoral act was passed, formally adhering to universal, equal, direct and secret franchise, as well as to the principles of proportional representation (Fundamental Article IV). This act provided for a 300 member unicameral legislature elected for a period of six years (Fundamental Article V). 28 election areas were established, 19 in Czech lands and the remaining 9 in Slovakia. Central, regional and electoral committees were established under the Communist Ministry of Interior in Prague, and members of these committees were then appointed by the Communist-dominated National Front.

### Election Procedures

Participation in elections continued to be compulsory and the voting age 18, the election age 21. All citizens were entitled to vote except those whom "the action committees of the National Front had discarded from public and political life . . . because they had committed offences against the People's Democratic order, or actively or knowingly had endeavored to bring about economic disruption."

Permanent registers of voters were the basis of electoral operations, but "representatives of action committees of the National Front" were given the right of special inspection. Lists of candidates could be submitted by "election groups," defined as political parties operating on the day elections were proclaimed, or a union of political parties or groups of voters. At the Cabinet meeting which discussed the Communist-inspired bill providing that 1,000 signatures be required to present a list of candidates (100 were necessary in democratic Czechoslovakia), the notori-

ous Minister of Information, Kopecky, said: "It would scarcely be expected that there would be 1,000 suicides prepared to sign an opposition list."

### "Regenerated National Front"

In practice, the May 30, 1948 elections for the new National Assembly were conducted with only one list, that of the "Regenerated National Front." The only electoral alternative for the opposition was to vote blank. The election results were arranged so that 70 percent of the vote went to the Communists, 10 percent to the Social Democrats, and the remaining 20 percent were earmarked for fellow-traveller and puppet parties like the Czech Socialist Party, the People's Party, the Slovak Renaissance Party and the Slovak Freedom Party.

Voting booths were packed with representatives of the Communist directed Czechoslovak Youth League who acted as "trustees" of the National Front. These and Communist members of the area election committees emphatically enjoined voters to make use of the "right" to vote openly. In many rural communities, Communist action committees arranged "voluntary" mass parades to the election booths under the slogan, "We are going to vote in the open!"

Czechoslovak voters were given only two ballot papers, and they had to vote one and discard the other. Some Communist member of the election committee was invariably placed so he could observe what went on behind the voting partition, and another placed so that he could see which ballots were discarded. Further, since the whole electoral machinery was controlled by the Communists, the vessel which contained discarded ballots was available to the Communist poll watchers who could use its contents to identify oppositionists. Moreover, with all of these precautions, it was necessary for them to count the opposition out even further by mistabulation of ballots. In the determination of the final election results, it is generally known that the report issued by the Ministry of Interior did not correspond with actual voting. According to the official report, election results were:

Total eligible	7,998,035	
Voters voting	7,419,253	
Voters excluded	63,796	0.8 percent
Voters invalidated	220,487	3.0 percent
Voters abstaining	512,986	6.5 percent
Voting blank ballot	774,032	9.7 percent
For "Regenerated National Front"	6,424,734	80.0 percent

Nevertheless, in a country under severe Communist repressive measures, and where not voting is a crime punishable by fines or jail, or both, there was still a total of 20 percent of the vote obviously anti-Communist.

Three weeks after the election, the Social Democratic Party merged with the Communist Party. On June 7, President Benes resigned, having refused to sign the new Constitution. Premier Gottwald signed the Constitution, and subsequently was made President.

In September of that same year, 1948, Eduard Benes died, and his death marked the grave of Czechoslovak democracy.

### **The Pattern:**

The pattern of Communist seizure of power is inseparable from their manipulation of elections. The birth of a "People's Democracy" is divided into three stages, and at each stage elections are used as a guide. The first stage is one in which several parties with separate programs are united in a common front against Fascism, all espousing political freedom, social reform, and friendly both to the free world and the USSR. At this stage, the Communist Party asks only to be part of the government, but begins its attempts to seize the levers of power by concentrating on control of the police, the army, and the propaganda machinery.

The second stage begins when they have seized administrative control and start to eliminate the opposition parties. Genuine opposition parties are terrorized and their leaders and partisans killed. The fiction of other parties and platforms in a common front is maintained, however. The final stage arrives with a single Communist bloc, and the forced merger of all parties with the Communist Party. The "People's Democracy" is then established.

### **The Methods**

All along the way, up to the final "Soviet" stage, the Communists use elections to gauge the weaknesses and strengths of their opponents, taking care never to lose their levers of power or permit really parliamentary control of the country. Their election control techniques are also applied in three stages: preelection, polling day, and tabulating. In the preelection period, they terrorize, imprison and murder members of the opposition. They restrict nominations, strike names off electoral lists, and disenfranchise both candidates and voters. Anti-Communists are dismissed from their jobs. Opposition papers are suppressed, their presses destroyed, their editorial staffs intimidated or jailed. There are large scale arrests and detentions. Polling commissions and electoral commissions are packed with Communists or fellow-travellers. Communist-controlled police, army units, and "action squads" are used in mass demonstrations to frighten the people with a show of force.

On election day, opposition observers are not permitted at the polls. "Open voting" is encouraged and opposition balloting is interfered with by slowing down their balloting and closing polls prematurely in which they show strength. Ballot boxes are stuffed and exchanged, and ballots lost and invalidated. Everywhere, Communist observers make great efforts to discover how individuals vote, so that opposition elements may be recognized and subsequently eliminated or "persuaded."

Ultimately, even with all their manipulation, they must resort to counting the opposition out by mistabulating and cooking up the results.

### **The Meaning**

Why do the Communists bother to hold elections at all? Why do they have this curious predilection for 99 percent voting participation? Why have they insisted on continuing these electoral farces and democratic masquerades? It is not likely that the Communist leadership is taken in by the election results they publish for popular consumption, although they use those results to bolster rank and file morale.

The Communists must maintain the constitutional fiction despite their obvious subversion of its meaning because it is actually useful to them. The fiction is not only for home consumption, but provides propaganda abroad to help maintain the Soviet myth of "socialist democracy." Moreover, in the captive countries, it is a method for gauging the extent of resistance, the signs of dissatisfaction, the means of locating opposition. It is also a way of checking the effectiveness of their own propaganda and Party organization, their leadership cadres, their electoral candidates and their local and regional administrators. And, inevitably, in spite of Communist terror, there is some force in continuing even the fictions of democratic procedure as a means of confusing the people. Nevertheless, one must not mistake this force for the actuality of democracy. Communist elections are always the forms of democracy, never the substance, and they reveal simply and starkly that there is no halfway house between Soviet tyranny and democratic freedom, between totalitarianism and parliamentarianism, between the people's free electoral choice and the Satellite election masquerade.

# News Briefs

## Kossuth Smiles

One of the most famous statues in Budapest was the Kossuth Statue erected in front of the Houses of Parliament to honor the leader of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1948. This monument is now being pulled down to be replaced by a new Kossuth Statue. *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), August 23, explained:

"The [original] statue has been widely criticized. There are many justified objections to the serious mien of the statue. It gives the impression that Lajos Kossuth and other great leaders of the War of Independence had mourned over our great struggle for independence. The old monument is now being demolished. A new group of statues radiating serenity and hope in the future are already complete. The new optimistic Kossuth is worthy of the present great rejuvenation of the Hungarian people."

## Candid Avowal

The tenth anniversary of the Albanian newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana) was acknowledged throughout the Satellite press; Czechoslovakia's *Rude Pravo* and the Warsaw daily *Trybuna Ludu* sent congratulatory telegrams. An article on August 7 in the Tirana newspaper *Bashkimi* designated August 25 as Press Day and reaffirmed the purposes of the Communist press:

"The main purpose of our press is to educate the people to hate and to fight the enemies of the Soviet Union as though they were our own enemies.

"This struggle against the war-loving enemies strengthens the immortal ties of brotherhood which bind our people to the Soviet people. The Anglo-American imperialists, their Fascist agents in Belgrade, Athens and Rome, the spies and agents they have recruited during the years since the liberation, all have aimed their arrows toward our friendship with the great Soviet Union. They know that this friendship is our strongest link with the USSR."

## Roses Are Blue

Reporting on a flower show held in Budapest, *Esti Budapest*, July 8, commented on the aristocratic names given to the roses on exhibit:

"Inscriptions are fixed on rose bushes so that those who are interested may be informed of the different varieties. . . . The poor helpless roses bear obsolete names, such as 'Lord Charlemint,' 'Lord Rossmore,' 'Lady Pierre,' 'Lady Ashton,' 'Lady Forst.' . . . The large number of lords and ladies makes one wonder why some butlers and maids were not planted in their neighborhood. . . . There is also a 'Golden Ophelia'—without Hamlet—; 'Captain Harvey,' 'Duchess of Sutherland,' etc. There is even a 'Sterling' and a 'Dollar' rose—their blooming, however, is not connected with the actual rate of exchange. Dynasties are represented by 'Maria Theresa,' 'Louise,' and others. The Vatican is well represented by agents like the 'Reverend Page Roberts,' 'Cardinal Piffi,' and finally 'Pope Pius XI' himself."

The newspaper suggested new names that would be appropriate: "Reasonable changes," the paper declared, "would be to call varieties of roses 'May First,' 'November Seventh,' 'April Fourth,' 'Red Star,' 'Liberation' and other such names."

## No Aid for Travellers

A recent escapee, formerly a Romanian student, quotes the official explanation for why sightseers in Romania must go without guide books:

"Geography teachers point out that in countries like Switzerland tourists are sold guide books written over 30 years ago, because nothing in the country has changed during the past 30 years. But in Romania, the teachers say proudly, it would be impossible to have guide books, because during the time it would take to compile them, a 'People's Democracy' radically alters its economy and prices, builds new cities, changes the names of others, etc. Thus, it is enough to issue yearly bulletins from each individual resort or tourist center."



### Captive Audience

Following the Soviet pattern, Poland is extending its system of wired radio (see July issue, p. 37) and public address speakers located in central points of towns and villages. *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), August 26, published the following letter complaining of the continual noise made by these loudspeakers:

"I work in a building on the corner of Marszalkowska and Koszykowa Streets. From 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. the loudspeaker blares the same waltzes and dance tunes, repeated from beginning to end several times a day. At about 11 o'clock we begin to get absent-minded, we make errors in our work and become nervous and irritable. Why? We have come to the conclusion that we are going slightly mad because of the constant noise. We do difficult work requiring complete attention, and we just cannot focus our thoughts.

"The day finally ends and I go home. I live at Koszykowa Street near the children's playground. And this is the crowning blow—the loudspeaker is blaring in the children's playground! It roars the same waltzes, polkas and *hopkas* which have tormented me during the eight hours at the office. One might conceivably want to read a book or take a nap, but such things are out of the question.

"By now I am in a complete rage. Exhausted by this entertainment, I go to bed and often wake up during the night because I imagine someone is calling over the megaphone: 'Knock, knock at the window—get up, get up, my girl, and give water to the horses' [lyrics of a popular song]. Isn't the bell in the Chinese garden of tortures a mere toy in comparison with this continually roaring loudspeaker?"

### Must Mothers Be Sharpshooters?

In a letter to the editor of *Kvety* (Prague), August 28, a Czechoslovak mother complained that children's toys, which are unavailable through ordinary channels such as department stores, can be obtained by demonstrating one's skill with a rifle:

"In early August a fair was held in Annin near Tovačov. Among other attractions there was a shooting gallery which featured children's rubber toys for prizes. Now, I have two small children and I have been looking everywhere for rubber toys because they are safe and easy to take care of. In all the stores I received the same answer: 'They are not produced anymore; rubber is an imported raw material.' Why, then, are there allocations for shooting galleries? I inquired of the attendant if he would sell some to me but he said that they are not for sale. Anyone who wants a toy must get a score of 35 points. So there is nothing left for mothers to do but learn to shoot so that they can get toys for their babies."

### Committee Out of Bounds

*Dikobraz* (Prague), August 31, commented on a letter received by its editor:

"This editor has received a letter in which the Local National Committee [administrative arm of the Com-

munist Party] of Hermanice declares that it is owed 9,000 *koruny* [\$180] by a certain individual and that it has not been able to collect the debt. 'Therefore,' states the letter, 'we have decided to sell the clothing ration card of the debtor for the sum of 1,000 *koruny* [\$20].' This newspaper, deeply shocked, wishes to point out that the Local National Committee of Hermanice has, with the best of intentions, entered the black market."

### Printer's Error

*Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), June 28, deplores the sorry state into which Hungarian book printing has fallen. Two cases were cited:

"A reader writes that he received for his birthday a copy of Grossman's new novel *Styepan Kolcsugin*. He soon discovered that forty pages were missing from different parts of the book. When he took it back to the bookstore on the following morning, the salesman had already anticipated his complaint. Ten other copies of the book, all suffering from the same deficiency, were ranged on the shelf. Each one contained a special slip marked 'Examined—quality found satisfactory.'

"Corrections listed at the end of a volume entitled *Progressive Criticism from Bessenyey to Ady* include thirty misprints which make the text unintelligible. It is curious that several misprints, more serious than the corrected ones, escaped notice. . . . The book also has several blank pages. This volume actually bears the stamp 'quality controlled.'"

### Red Cross Controversy

The recent International Red Cross Conference in Toronto led to controversy in both the free and Communist press over the introduction of the germ warfare issue. To "clarify" the matter for its audience, Radio Budapest, August 10, broadcast a letter from one of its listeners and offered a reply. The letter was quoted as follows:

"I cannot agree with the accusations being levelled against the International Red Cross. This is an organization which is recognized everywhere for its impartial attitude. The Red Cross was asked and has agreed to investigate the charges of germ warfare in Korea. It seems to me wrong to sneer at it."

Radio Budapest gave the following answer:

"We are dealing with your letter because there may be many people . . . who share your views, and we would like to dispel the myth of the 'international' character of this organization. The International Red Cross is a private organization of Swiss citizens, who are capitalists. Red Cross representatives have even described the commandant of the Auschwitz concentration camp as an 'amiable' man. The Koreans and the Chinese are ready at any time to accept an investigation by experts. There is no reason whatsoever why this plan should not be carried through, except, of course, that the Americans have a natural aversion to being found out."

### "... But Don't Fall in Love"

A recently escaped youth, formerly a member of the Czechoslovak Border Guards, describes one of the methods devised by the authorities to promote good relations between the Border Guards and the civilian population of the border districts:

"Last year, the headquarters of the Border Guard brigades ordered all subordinate units to foster friendly relations between the guards, on duty and off, and the people of the border zone. Subsequently, the commander of the battalion in Pivon, district Horsuv Tyn, instructed members of his unit to attend all dances held in border zone communities. His order emphasized that Border Guards should make acquaintances among the youth and the young women. Soldiers were warned not to become romantically involved, but unobtrusively to get information concerning citizens opposed to the People's Democratic regime."

### Proper Fit

Have the physical demands of the building up of Socialism altered the dimensions of the human figure? *Elet es Tudomany* (Budapest), August 20, reported on a scientific revision of the sizing standards used by the Hungarian garment industry:

"The professor of anthropology at Debrecen University and the head of the anthropology department of the Natural Science Museum have concluded a Socialist contract with the garment industry to conduct a survey of the measurements of 40,000 adults, 40,000 children, and 10,000 elderly persons. The practical purpose of this anthropological survey is to enable the garment industry to produce well-cut clothes in appropriate sizes for our workers. In manufacturing these new ready-made clothes tailored on a scientific basis, the needs of the various professions will be taken into consideration. For instance, the miners and smelters have more developed shoulder muscles, the agricultural workers have broad chests and large leg muscles, etc. Consequently, they all need clothes of different sizes and cuts. . . ."

### Strugglers' Showcase

The "Museum of the People's Revolutionary Struggle for Freedom," established by the present regime in Bucharest, gives a visual presentation of the official Communist interpretation of Romanian history. A refugee provides the following summary of its contents, based on his recent visit to the Museum:

"The 14 rooms of the newly added wing are arranged in the form of an open book of Romanian history. The first phase concerns the period from 1864 to 1900, representing the principal aspects of the development of capitalism in Romania, parallel to the development of the proletariat. Great emphasis is laid on demonstrating how, during this period, 80 percent of the industry was set up by foreign capital. The implication is that this

was due to the intrigues bourgeois governments of Romania had with foreign interests. Government officials are depicted selling hundred-year concessions to the British, Germans, etc. Emphasis is also given to certain statistics which show that during this period two thirds of the arable land was owned by proprietors who formed only 1.09 percent of the total population, while the remaining 98.91 percent owned altogether only one third. This state of affairs is represented as the provocation for the workers' and peasants' riots of 1888. There is no mention of the famine of that year nor of the crushing taxes imposed upon the peasants by the governors; i.e., a situation caused by a number of factors is attributed to a single social problem, the inequity in the ownership of land. The few copies of the revolutionary newspapers *Solidarity*, *The Rights of Man*, etc., are exhibited in prominent places.

"Particular attention is given to the repercussions which the Russian Revolution of 1905 is alleged to have had on the life of the Romanian people. All articles published during the above period and a number of newspapers published in Bucharest and Iasi are reproduced. Among other documents is the original order issued by Ion Bratianu in 1907, which resulted in the massacre of thousands of peasants.

"Arriving at the period 1915-1918, many exhibits are given over to the defeatist attempts of the Communists during the World War. An appeal by Stefan Gheorghiu to all mobilized troops shows the opposition of the Communists to the war and ends with the words, 'We shall never shoot at the oppressed peasants.' The position of honor in these rooms is given to nine pictures of workers who were killed during the Communist riots of Galati on June 13, 1916.

"An extensive collection in the Museum deals with the Russian October Revolution, with publications of that period urging the Romanian people to resist all attempts to induce the Romanian army to march against the Russian Bolsheviks. The soldiers were exhorted by these publications to rise against the military authorities, and special editions of some dailies invited the people to rid themselves of the feudal landowners.

"One of the Museum's features is an actual-size reproduction of the cell at Doftana [prison near Ploesti] where Gheorghiu-Dej was confined. The picture is completed by the instruments of torture and rubber hoses used by the jail guards. There are also the canvas cassocks which the political prisoners at Doftana were obliged to wear. Incidental items of interest in the Museum include a 'Story of the Communist Party' written in microscopic handwriting on cigarette paper, and the first radio set used for clandestine Romanian broadcasting by Bela Brainer under the title of 'Free Romania.'

"The most notable recent event in the Museum is not an acquisition, but a subtraction. On July 15, the telegram sent in 1936 by the Bucharest police for the capture of Ana Pauker, together with all other exhibits relating to the discredited former Minister of Foreign Affairs, disappeared. A huge wall mural depicting Ana Pauker speaking at the 1936 trial, surrounded by the 19 other Communist defendants, has been removed. Thus is history edited by the Communists according to current events."

### Happy But Hungry

A correspondent writes that a Polish poet published in Israel has requested that his royalties be paid to him in food rather than currency:

"One of the most outstanding pro-Communist poets in Poland is owed royalties by his publisher in Israel for his translations of Hebrew poetry into Polish. In a letter to his publisher, the poet stressed that he is very satisfied with his lot in Poland, that the government has built him a special villa as a 'gift from the nation,' but that, incidentally, he would be very grateful if his royalties could be paid to him in the form of food parcels. Because it is forbidden to send food from Israel, the parcels were sent to him via Istanbul.

"In his letter, the poet expressed his love for the Jewish nation and for all humanity with the exception of such 'Cannibals' as Truman and McArthur."

### Communist Keyboard

A dialogue purportedly on the subject of jazz, broadcast by Radio Prague on August 21, proved to be, in substance, a lesson in elementary Communist semantics:

"A 'cosmopolite' does not love the working people of other nations; he loves only capitalists, because he himself is one of them. Therefore the expression 'world citizen' is meaningless; the proper term is 'world capitalist.' Cosmopolitanism can be defined as the united front of the capitalists of the whole world. But people who are fighting for a better Socialist world have a united front too. This is called internationalism. Do you understand the difference?"

"Yes, now it becomes completely clear. A cosmopolite is one who despises the national tradition of his people, and, for that matter, the national traditions of other peoples. He eulogizes the decadent art of his own and all other nations. We, of course, love our national traditions as well as those of other nations."

"You see, we've already made three things clear: cosmopolitanism, internationalism, and patriotism. Patriotism means that we respect our own people and its progressive and sound traditions."

"But couldn't that be called nationalism?"

"Nationalism could be mistaken for patriotism. But let me help you to differentiate. A patriot loves his people and wishes the best for other people too. A nationalist scorns his and all other peoples and only in the interest of his wallet proclaims his nation as the first and foremost of the world."

"I see. Then, does nationalism make itself felt in music too?"

"Certainly. Hitler forbade all Jewish music, but jazz was played often by the Germans."

"But jazz is American, and America was at war with Germany!"

"But ask yourself what part of America was at war with Germany? The Germans did not play Negro spirituals and trade union songs. They played decadent sugary swing, which is the music of those American interests who deliberately did not bomb the Krupp Works

because throughout the war there was an agreement between them. Those interests are now employing Hitler's generals. In this respect, the Germans proved to be not only nationalists but cosmopolites as well."

"But don't they play jazz in the Soviet Union too?"

"Yes, and rightly so. And how cleverly they manage it. They have said to themselves: many people like dance music—the foxtrot, tango and other ballroom dances. Why should we deprive them of their pleasure? They would find it somehow anyway! We will compose new dance music in the best national tradition . . . and slowly convert the addicts of cosmopolitan jazz into lovers of good national music."

### Volunteers to Order

Below is a verbatim translation of a notice received by a Czechoslovak worker in July. Names and specific dates have been withheld.

Because an insufficient number of volunteers reported within the time limit set for the hay harvest . . . you are ordered in accordance with the Compulsory Labor Decree of the District National Committee to report for [immediate] assignment. The meeting is scheduled for 7 a.m. sharp . . . at the office of the Local National Committee. Non-compliance with this decree is punishable by the District National Committee with a fine up to 5,000 koruny [\$100] or 14 days imprisonment. We emphasize that this voluntary work is an honor to every citizen as it is undertaken in the interest of national sustenance.

### Haunted Souls

A series of articles, designed to help readers exorcise the persistent ghost of capitalist philosophy, was introduced by the Warsaw daily *Slowo Powszechnie* [Progressive Catholic], August 13:

"Nurtured in the theoretical and practical philosophy of capitalism, the Polish people were bound to become contaminated with the errors of this philosophy. The bacilli of capitalist falsehoods and capitalist errors in the contemplation of reality were bound to penetrate into the mentality and even the world outlook of the Polish people. Obviously different people yielded to this influence in different ways, and different social strata to a different degree. The aristocracy, the middle class, the intelligentsia and the proletariat were all influenced and contaminated by the capitalist mentality. In fact virtually no one escaped contamination by capitalist falsehood. Only the most vigilant people were spared this ailment. . . .

"Let the series of articles which we intend to present for the consideration of our readers become a weapon in the victory over these large and small spectres which, cast out from history by history, are still alive among us, and shadow our own souls."



## Cafe Life in Sofia

The casual pace of night life in pre-war Sofia has not survived the stringencies of the post-war era. A refugee describes the change:

"Such familiar and well-loved cafes as the Bear's Den, the Wild Cocks, the Merry Guests, the Turino and the Old Koprivchitza were swept away by the 'hurricane' of September 9, 1944. Today all bars and restaurants are owned by the State. Conspicuous signs warn customers 'not to offend the personnel by tipping.' Since all competition has been eliminated, restaurants make no pretense of vying with one another to achieve a reputation for service, courtesy and quality. State-owned bars and restaurants—called *horemags*—are open from 11 to 3 and from 5 to 10 in the evening. The 'Bulgaria,' where foreign visitors in Sofia usually stay, is open until 1 a.m., and the Cafe Ariana until 2 a.m. *Horemags* are equipped with books where guests may register complaints or express satisfaction with the establishment, but customers make little use of either book.

"In pre-war days, for every 50 grams of *rakia* [brandy] one received five different appetizers free of charge, a meal in itself. Now these appetizers cost about one *leva* [20 cents] apiece. Another pleasant feature of cafe life was the strolling minstrels who wandered from cafe to cafe. Of course there is no allowance in a 'planned economy' for them. The *horemags* lack all color and privacy; but, despite poor service and high prices, these places are more heavily patronized than ever before."

## Russians Discover Antarctica

Latvia's Radio Riga, August 9, praised Soviet achievements in naval history and claimed Antarctica as a Russian discovery. [A Connecticut sea captain, Nathaniel Brown Palmer, is commonly credited with the discovery of Antarctica in 1820]:

"The entire history of the Russian nation has been a struggle for access to the sea. . . . The Russian nation was the first to enter and navigate the seas. Lazarov and Bellinghauzen were the discoverers of Antarctica. . . . One of the greatest naval schools in the Soviet Union is located in Latvia. In the Nachimov School, the sons of the heroes who died defending their fatherland against Fascist aggressors are being educated. . . ."

## No Hurry

Nothing is permitted to interfere with the timetable of Poland's Six Year Plan. *Szpilki* (Warsaw), September 9, reported:

"The inhabitants of the village of Raciarek recently sent an application to the Provincial National Council in Bydgoszcz, asking for the construction of a well. They pleaded that it is difficult for them to live without water. The authorities rejected the request and explained that, according to the Six Year Plan, the construction of the well in Raciarek is scheduled for 1953."

## Circumscribed Competition

The Estonian press and radio have broadcast announcements of a country-wide competition for artists, sponsored by the State Art Administration and the Artists' Association. The competition rules specify the following subjects for the artists, whose entries are due before December 1, 1952:

- The striving of the Soviet people for peace
- The leading role of the Lenin-Stalin Party in the construction of a Communist society
- The development of Soviet science and culture
- The struggle of the Estonian workers for the Soviet regime
- Heroic episodes from World War II
- The happy life of Soviet youth
- Soviet morals and Soviet family
- The invincibility of the Soviet Army and Navy

The following prizes are offered [ruble-dollar official exchange rate is 4:1]:

### For paintings:

- 1st prize—5,000 rubles
- 2nd prize—3,000 rubles (awarded to 3)
- 3rd prize—1,500 rubles (awarded to 4)

### For graphics:

- 1st prize—3,000 rubles
- 2nd prize—1,500 rubles (awarded to 2)
- 3rd prize—1,000 rubles (awarded to 4)

### For sculpture:

- 1st prize—5,000 rubles
- 2nd prize—3,000 rubles
- 3rd prize—1,500 rubles (awarded to 2)

### For utility designs:

- 1st prize—2,500 rubles (awarded to 2)
- 2nd prize—1,500 rubles (awarded to 3)
- 3rd prize—1,000 rubles (awarded to 4)

## Americans from Mako

The following story appeared in the July 9 issue of the Budapest comic weekly *Ludas Matyi*:

"Tax collectors were in the kulaks' street. One of the kulaks, in order to dodge them, locked up his house and hid himself in the attic, leaving his six-year-old boy to play in the yard. Meantime the excise men came for the wine tax. The child had never seen their green uniforms before. He watched them for a while in silence, then asked, 'Are you soldiers?' 'Sure, we are soldiers,' answered one of the excise men. 'Where do you come from?' asked the boy. 'We come from very far, from Mako [town in the Hungarian Great Plains],' said the first man. The child was quite puzzled, having never heard of Mako. 'And who are you from Mako?' he asked again. 'We are the ones for whom your father has been waiting so long,' said the leader of the excise men. The boy's eyes sparkled with joy; he ran up to the door of the attic where his father was hiding and yelled: 'Father, come down quickly! The Americans are here from Mako!'"

### Classes in a Classless Society

In terms of opportunity for employment and advancement, and preferential treatment in regard to housing, travel, and food, the Polish people are more rigidly stratified today than before the introduction of the "classless society." A refugee who recently escaped from Warsaw provides the following breakdown of citizen's status:

"First Class: Communist Party leaders and activists.

"Second Class: Ordinary Party members, members of mass organizations, trade union leaders.

"Third Class: Government officials and Stakhanovites.

"Fourth Class: Loyal citizens, Protestant priests and priests of the sectarian group called Old Catholics.

"Fifth Class: Roman Catholic priests, monks and nuns; religious Jews, pro-Germans, Western Poles, Anders and Mikolajczyk-Poles."

### Illicit Exchange

A report from Trieste gives the following information about the black market in Bulgaria:

"Black marketeering in Bulgaria is, on a practical level, restricted to the sales of the few agricultural products which the peasants succeed in withholding from the State collection centers. Those who receive parcels from outside the country resell items such as nylon stockings, chocolate, and watches. Trade in foreign currency and gold is limited, not only because there are very few buyers, but because the militia men are particularly alert for this and the consequences particularly severe. . . . An article which has lately appeared on the black market, following rumors that precious stones will be requisitioned by the government in the near future, is jewelry. There has been a remarkable flood of such items lately,

but despite exceptionally low prices, there are not many people who can take advantage of the situation."

### No Room for Culture

*Literaturen Front* (Sofia), August 7, described a strange tug-of-war for lodgings between a cultural club and a tavern in a Bulgarian village:

"In 1948, in the frontier village of Shuma, the local branch of DUPY [Union of Youth] rented a house in order to set up a rural library. In one of the rooms all the books were placed; the second room was turned into an office for DUPY, and the third room was used for meetings. The premises proved very suitable for this purpose and, in a short time, became the cultural center of the whole village. Thus, the youth was happy and the peasants satisfied. The only dissatisfied people were the managers of the village tavern. These decided that it would be much better if the tavern could be moved into the premises of the Cultural Club. They presented a petition, and on June 19 the County Rent Commission issued a permit to move the tavern into the club. The managers, in order to have space, gathered all the tables and chairs from the hall and stored them in the DUPY office. The organizational work of DUPY was disrupted because of the cluttered office. Day by day the activity in the Cultural Club declined. Meetings could not be held in the evening, either because the tavern manager was in a hurry to close the premises or the visiting customers made so much noise. . . . The youth referred the case to the village authorities, but since the authorities liked having the tavern close to their quarters, they ignored the plea. The County People's Council also did not give the matter any attention. The youth then complained to the County Library, but Comrade Evdokia Kirova, in charge of the Education and Culture Section, ruled that the Club must be moved out in order to expand the tavern."

# Research Projects on Eastern Europe

*Prepared by the National Committee for a Free Europe*

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service and the Mid-European Studies Center. They are available in limited quantities and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee for a Free Europe, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

*Manipulation of the Zhdanov Line in Czechoslovakia*, (Research and Publications Service, September, 1952) 9 pages. Egon Hostovsky, a well-known writer in pre-Communist Czechoslovakia, has composed a succinct statement of present intellectual and cultural conditions in his native country. It is an analysis of interest to intellectuals and artists who wish to have a better appreciation of the expediency in Communist directives and of the destructive inconsistency which must plague the life of every artist who follows these directives. The recent shifts in the Zhdanov line in Czechoslovakia are good examples of the arbitrary decrees to which sensitive men must conform. The author of this study clearly points out that any liberalization in this line is not due to increased respect for an individual's search for his own ideas. Viewed in the perspective of the Soviet Union's cultural policy, such concessions to artistic creativity as are made are seen merely as an attempt to counteract defections and chaos among leftist Western intellectuals. *Price 5 cents.*

*Blueprint for a Red Generation*, by William Juhasz (Mid-European Studies Center, September, 1952) 101 pages, printed pamphlet. In the last few decades education in totalitarian countries has been a matter of real concern for liberal minded people in the Western democracies. General sentiment deplored the indoctrination of both young and old with limited, distorted ideas, but the extent and motivation of this indoctrination were rarely appreciated. This readable pamphlet shows the dimensions of Communist purposes in a typical captive country of Eastern Europe.

One main impression is conveyed through the chapters of the study. Communist education of a future generation is a total affair. The scope of Communist teaching extends from the rigorous indoctrination of young minds in the kindergarten to harassing "discussion groups" in the Adult Education program. It has taken over training of teachers as well as the supervision of the arts, the sciences and historical scholarship. In less than four years, it has dissolved the formal institution of the Church, which had been such an integral party of Hungarian history. It has made dedicated fanatics out of young people; it has coerced young women to give up their families and to enter "the service of communism" by training for technical jobs. For the Hungarian people it has propagated both the glories of Russia and the disintegration of Western standards. In every way, the new Communist discipline has imposed itself on the great events of life as well as the small.

This pamphlet paints the significant details of Hungarian education as they stand in 1952. The gray tones of the militant mass mind are more and more evident. Communist propaganda now invades ideals and morals with monotonous "one-party thinking," and the mediocrity of Hungary's present culture proves that its education under the Communist regime is no longer producing educated men and women. As the pamphlet states, "Communist education [cannot] produce true scientists. It can only produce Communists who have studied science."

Of general importance to the objectivity of this study are the references to certain achievements which the Communists can claim in their attempts at "the complete metamorphosis of the human being." Broadening higher education, providing greater educational opportunity for the lower social groups, and the virtual elimination of illiteracy are examples of those benefits which are the meager compensations for an oppressed and impoverished people. As in other things, the Communists in Hungary consider such situations opportunities for furthering their control.

The pamphlet concludes with an evaluation of those forces opposed to Communism. The family, the parents' cultural philosophy and religious training are now the only bulwarks against the destruction of that Hungarian educational tradition which has taken centuries to build. The pamphlet's style and content will appeal both to the specialist and the general reader.

*Single copies 50 cents, bulk prices on request.*

*Report on the Files of the Research and Publications Service* (September, 1952), 16 pages. This report summarizes the comprehensive files of the research and information division of the National Committee for a Free Europe. The national language desks of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania maintain systematic files of current data which are collected from Communist newspapers, monitored radio broadcasts, refugee reports, and Satellite publications received by the Library of Congress. The report gives representative files from each country in the various categories under which information is listed. It should be of interest to all researchers who wish to have at hand a reference to the Committee's available material on Eastern and Central Europe.





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